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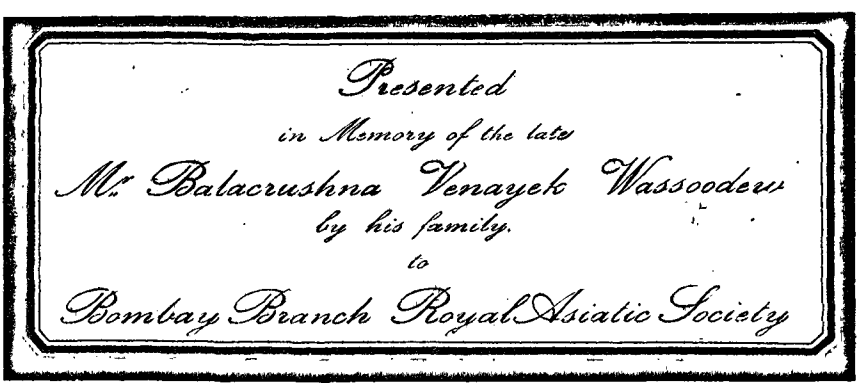

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMI,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES,

AND A FIFTH,

CONTAINING

MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,

Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

VOL. I.

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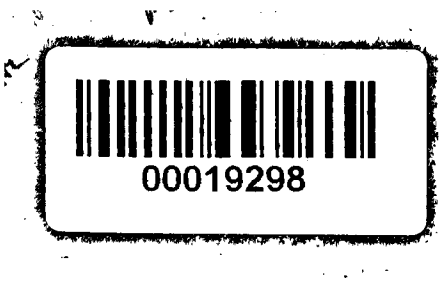
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PREFACE

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE Work now offered to the Engliſh reader exhibits a complete view of the antiquities, manners, cuſtoms, religious ceremonies, laws, arts, and literature of ancient Greece, at the period of its greateſt ſplendour. A knowledge of theſe has hitherto been only attainable by a laborious peruſal of writers who have been little ſolicitous to join entertainment with inſtruction. The Travels of Anacharſis, on the contrary, are ſo written, that the reader may frequently be induced to imagine he is peruſing a work of mere amuſement, invention, and fancy; till his eye glances to the bottom of the page, when he perceives there is ſcarcely a ſentence, and not a ſingle fact or circumſtance, but is ſupported by the authority of ſome ancient author. The amazing number of theſe quotations may, perhaps, at firſt ſight, ſeem to have been unneceſſary, and to have more the appearance of a parade of erudition, than to be of any real utility: but it is to be remembered that, at the ſame time that they muſt be highly acceptable to the man of real learning, by enabling him to refer immediately

to the original author, they are extremely uſeful, nay, I may ſay, abſolutely neceſſary, even to ſuch readers as can never be ſuppoſed to have any intention to conſult the authorities quoted; as they clearly ſhow that ſuch an idea, or ſuch a circumſtance, is not merely a decoration, or the offſpring of the fancy of the author, but immediately taken from ſome ancient writer, and therefore perfectly accordant to the general ſcope and plan of the work.

A ſummary of the hiſtory of Greece for the ſame period is likewiſe given, in which the ſame novelty of plan is conſiſtently preſerved. In the private letters which paſs between Anacharſis and his friends, relative to the deſigns of Philip of Macedon, and the progreſs of that ambitious and ſubtle politician in his attempts, which ultimately proved but too ſucceſsful, to overturn the liberty of Greece, and render himſelf its ſovereign, the circumſtances are ſelected with great judgment and delicacy: they are preciſely ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have been the popular topics of the day among the giddy multitude of Athens; and many of them will be found new even to ſuch perſons as are already tolerably acquainted with the hiſtory of that period. This is indeed a merit which pervades the whole work. The novelty of the plan might have been an apology for the introduction of common-place facts and trite anecdotes: but though it was impoſſible, conſiſtent with the nature of the deſign, not to give many which muſt be familiar to thoſe who are at all acquainted with the Grecian hiſtory and antiquities; yet it is certain there are

ſtill very many which will be found new by thoſe whoſe knowledge of theſe ſubjects deſerves not to be termed ſuperficial.

As I have ſpoken of the *novelty* of the plan, it may not be improper to mention what has already been ſaid on that ſubject, as it will afford an opportunity to introduce the account which the Abbé has himſelf given of the origin of his deſign, and which may be conſidered as a proper ſupplement to his advertiſement that immediately follows this preface.

In one of the moſt reſpectable of the preſent periodical publications, the author of an extremely judicious critique on the original of this work had hinted the "poſſibility that the learned author of Anacharſis had taken the hint of his plan from the ſuppoſed but excellent ATHENIAN LETTERS; a work very little known, becauſe never (properly ſpeaking) publiſhed. It conſiſts of the imaginary correſpondence of a ſet of Greek gentlemen, the contemporaries of Socrates, Pericles, and Plato; but was in reality the actual correſpondence of a ſociety of ingenious perſons, of the univerſity of Cambridge; who, in this aſſumed mode, communicated to each other the reſult of their reſearches into ancient hiſtory; and produced the beſt commentary on Thucycides that ever was written. At length, the number of their letters became ſo conſiderable, that, to prevent the trouble of tranſcribing them for the uſe of the Society, it was reſolved to print about a dozen copies; which was accord-

" ingly done by Bettenham, in four octavo volumes,
" 1741 *."

The Abbé Barthelemi having ſeen this in France, wrote a letter in conſequence to M. Dutens, a reſpectable foreign gentleman reſiding in London, in which he aſſures him that " it was not till after the publi-
" cation of his work that he heard of the *Athenian*
" *Letters*; and that chance alone gave him the idea
" of it." He adds, " I travelled into Italy in 1755:
" the appearance of this beautiful country made me
" regret its ancient glory; and I was continually
" tranſporting myſelf to that period of the revival of
" letters and the arts, when each city ſhould grow
" proud with the proſperity of the former, and orna-
" ment itſelf with the productions of the latter;
" the *Medici*, the *Urſini*, the *Farneſi*, the Houſe of Eſt,
" and other petty ſovereigns, hitherto divided by
" ſeparate intereſts, ſhould emulate each other in
" drawing to their courts both amuſement and ta-
" lents. Theſe pleaſing viſions ſo often preſenting
" themſelves to my imagination, I thought it might
" be poſſible to embody them, in ſuppoſed travels
" through Italy, toward the reign of Leo X. I re-
" flected for ſome time on this project; and then
" perceived it would engage me in inquiries too re-
" mote from thoſe which had hitherto occupied my
" attention. The hiſtory of the Greeks juſt then
" ſuddenly offering to my view a more extended, and
" ſtill more dramatic ſcene, I eagerly embraced it;

* Monthly Review, Apendix to Vol. LXXXI.

" and at my return from Italy, in 1757, began the " *Travels of Anacharſis.*"

I have yet to ſay a word or two of the tranſlation. I have, in general, been rather ſolicitous to give the meaning of the original faithfully and accurately; than to be minutely nice in my language and ſtyle. At the ſame time, I have not been unmindful of endeavouring, at leaſt, to make my author ſpeak good Engliſh, and untainted, as much as may be, with foreign idiom; but I am far from having ſufficient vanity to ſuppoſe that from the latter of theſe defects my verſion is entirely free. The difficulty of tranſlation is beſt known to thoſe who have moſt frequently attempted to render what has been written in one language into another; nor to thoſe who have ſeldom been ſo employed can the difficulties by which this ſpecies of compoſition is ſurrounded, be diſtinctly known. Unfaithfulneſs to the author on the one hand, and corruption of idiom on the other, are the Charybdis and Scylla of tranſlators. Different nations not only uſe different words and expreſſions to ſignify the ſame thing, but have different modes of thinking on the ſame ſubject. The ardour and vivacity of our ſanguine neighbours frequently appear unnatural, and even ridiculous, to our more phlegmatic countrymen. Metaphors authorized by cuſtom, the great arbiter in every queſtion of this kind, may appear proper, and even elegant, in one language; when in another, to which they are a novelty, they would be eſteemed harſh, forced, and inadmiſſible; and great is the perplexity frequently occaſion-

ed to the tranſlator by ſuch figures: if he admits the metaphor, he offends by riſking an expreſſion unuſual, harſh, and in ſome ſenſe chargeable with foreign idiom; if he entirely neglects it, he enfeebles the language; and if he ſubſtitutes another, more agreeable to the genius of his own tongue, it may be alleged that he has not kept ſufficiently cloſe to the expreſſion of his author. The French language frequently indulges in ſuch figurative expreſſions: the ſentimental ardour of the nation continually produces a ſtyle which to an Engliſh reader will appear to border on inflation and bombaſt. There is certainly much leſs of this ſtyle in the preſent work than in many others in that language; becauſe the author, having formed his taſte on the correct and chaſte models of Antiquity, has given leſs into it: but ſtill the genius of the language will occaſionally diſplay itſelf, and the tranſlator find reaſon to exclaim—

Nobis non licet eſſe tam diſſertis.

But, without purſuing this diſcuſſion farther, I ſhall proceed to what is of more importance to the reader who ſeeks for information—the care that has been taken to preſent him with a faithful and accurate verſion. The tranſlator, though he has beſtowed the utmoſt attention to perform properly this part of his taſk, does not mean arrogantly to affirm that he has committed no miſtakes. If ſuch ſhould be diſcovered, let the wide field, which the work embraces, be taken into conſideration; it includes almoſt every art, and the whole circle of ancient literature: to aſſert that no error has been committed in the expreſſion

or the proper technical terms relative to theſe, could only diſplay the preſumptuous conceit of ignorance.

As cuſtom has beſtowed on languages different metaphors, ſo alſo has it furniſhed ſome with terms more appoſite than others perhaps poſſeſs. The French expreſſion *place publique*, uſed to ſignify the place which was at once the market, and that in which the people met to converſe, and aſſembled to deliberate on public affairs, appears to me preferable to the term *forum*, by which I have rendered it, and which has been adopted from the Romans, who employed it to expreſs the ſame kind of place; but it ſeems ſcarcely applied with propriety when we are ſpeaking of a Grecian city. The word *tribune*, likewiſe, which the French employ to ſignify the pulpit or gallery from which the orators addreſſed the people, is to be preferred to the word *roſtrum*, which I have uſed to avoid circumlocution. This, like the former, is of Latin origin: the Romans indeed always uſed it in the plural *(roſtra)*; and I ſhould have written it ſo, had I ſpoken of that which ſtood in the Roman forum: but it is more familiar than the word *ſuggeſtum*, which indeed might have been more proper, and is to be found in our Engliſh dictionaries, where the latter is not.

The French meaſures in the work and in the tables, I have carefully reduced to Engliſh. The leagues I have given as they ſtood, becauſe the difference between them and a meaſure of three Engliſh miles, is too little to deſerve notice. But it may not be improper to mention here, that the league of

2500 toiſes, uſed by M. Barthelemi in this work, is longer than three Engliſh ſtatute miles by 48 yards, 2 feet, 3 inches. Where an odd number of toiſes has been added to the leagues, I have generally reduced them to the half, quarter, or ſome fraction of the league; but if more accuracy ſhould be required, it may always be obtained by referring to the tables at the end of the work, for the value of the ſtadia, &c. in French and Engliſh meaſures. Some of the reductions into Engliſh yards, feet, &c. in the firſt volumes, differ a little from thoſe given in the tables; becauſe I then uſed the proportion given by Mr. Graham, in vol. xlii. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, according to which the French foot is to the Engliſh as 114 to 107, or equal to 12,785 inches Engliſh: but in reducing the tables, I have made uſe of a later and more correct proportion, given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lviii. page 325, by the preſent Aſtronomer Royal, Dr. Maſkelyne; who, on occaſion of the menſuration of a degree of latitude in North America, applied to that excellent aſtronomer M. de la Lande, who ſent him from Paris two toiſes exactly adjuſted to the ſtandard of thoſe made uſe of by Meſſrs. de la Condamine and Bouguer in the meaſure of a degree of latitude in Peru; from the mean length of which it appeared that the French toiſe contains 767,344 Engliſh inches. The French weights I have computed from the proportion of the French and Engliſh grains, as given by M. Barthelemi himſelf.

In the fifth volume, the maps alone may be con-

ſidered as a new and valuable work. The introductory obſervations by which they are accompanied, prove the labour and care that the compiler of them, M. Barbié du Bocage, has uſed to render them more accurate than any thing of the kind that has hitherto appeared. The tranſlator has endeavoured to beſtow equal care to give the names of places correctly, as they are found in ancient authors. There is ſcarcely a ſingle town, the name of which has not been ſought for and examined in Strabo, Pauſanias, or Pliny.

I ſhall here conclude my addreſs to the reader and the critic, and ſubmit to the attention of the one and the candour of the other, a work, which, unleſs I am miſtaken, is equal to any that France has for many years paſt produced, and the excellencies of which may perhaps make the defects of the tranſlation paſs unnoticed.

ADVERTISEMENT

BY

THE AUTHOR.

I IMAGINE a Scythian, named Anacharſis, to arrive in Greece, ſome years before the birth of Alexander; and that from Athens, the uſual place of his reſidence, he makes ſeveral excurſions into the neighbouring provinces; every where obſerving the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, being preſent at their feſtivals, and ſtudying the nature of their governments; ſometimes dedicating his leiſure to inquiries relative to the progreſs of the human mind, and ſometimes converſing with the great men who flouriſhed at that time; with Epaminondas, Phocion, Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, Demoſthenes, &c. As ſoon as he has ſeen Greece enſlaved by Philip, the father of Alexander, he returns into Scythia, where he puts in order an account of his travels; and, to prevent any interruption in his narrative, relates in an introduction the memorable events which had paſſed in Greece before he left Scythia.

The æra I have choſen, which is one of the moſt intereſting that the hiſtory of nations preſents, may be conſidered in two points of view. With reſpect

to literature and the arts, it connects the age of Pericles with that of Alexander. My Scythian has converſed with a number of Athenians, who had been intimately acquainted with Sophocles, Euripides, Ariſtophanes, Thucydides, Socrates, Zeuxis, and Parrhaſius. I have mentioned ſome of the celebrated writers who were known to him. He has ſeen the maſterly productions of Praxiteles, Euphranor, and Pamphilus, make their appearance, as alſo the firſt eſſays of Apelles and Protogenes; and in one of the latter years of his ſtay in Greece, Epicurus and Menander were born.

Under the ſecond point of view, this epocha is not leſs remarkable. Anacharſis was a witneſs to the revolution which changed the face of Greece, and which, ſome time after, deſtroyed the empire of the Perſians. On his arrival, he found the youth Philip with Epaminondas: he afterwards beheld him aſcend the throne of Macedon; diſplay, in his conteſts with the Greeks, during two and twenty years, all the reſources of his genius; and, at length, compel thoſe haughty republicans to ſubmit to his power.

I have choſen to write a narrative of travels rather than a hiſtory, becauſe in ſuch a narrative all is ſcenery and action; and becauſe circumſtantial details may be entered into which are not permitted to the hiſtorian. Theſe details, when they have relation to manners and cuſtoms, are often only indicated by ancient authors, and have often given occaſion to different opinions among modern critics. I have examined and diſcuſſed them all before I have made uſe

of them; I have even, on a reviſal, ſuppreſſed a great part of them, and ought perhaps to have ſuppreſſed ſtill more.

I began this work in the year 1757, and, ſince that time, have never intermitted my labours to complete it*. I ſhould not have undertaken it, if, leſs captivated by the beauty of the ſubject, I had conſulted my abilities more than my courage.

The table which follows this advertiſement, will ſhow the chronological order which I have obſerved.

---

* This was written about the latter end of 1788, when the original was publiſhed.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

OF THE

TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS.

Bef. Chriſt

CHAP. I. Anacharſis departs from Scythia, in April of the Year 363

CHAP. VI. After having made ſome ſtay at Byzantium, Leſbos, and Thebes, he arrives at Athens, March 13, 362

CHAP. IX. He goes to Corinth, and returns to Athens, April 1ſt of the ſame year

CHAP. XII. &c. He deſcribes the city of Athens, and gives the reſult of his inquiries relative to the government, manners, and religion of the Athenians, Same year

CHAP. XXII. He ſets out for Phocis, April, 361

CHAP XXIII. &c. He returns to Athens, and, after having related ſeveral events that had paſſed from the year 361 to the year 357, he treats of ſeveral particulars relative to the cuſtoms of the Athenians, the hiſtory of the ſciences, &c.

CHAP. XXXIV. &c. He departs for Bœotia, and the northern provinces of Greece, 357

CHAP. XXXVII. He paſſes the winter between 357 and 356 at Athens, whence he proceeds to the ſouthern provinces of Greece, March, 356

CHAP. XXXVIII. He is preſent at the celebration of the Olympic games, July, ſame year.

CHAP. LIV. &c. He returns to Athens, where he continues his uſual reſearches.

Bef. Chriſt.

CHAP. LX. He relates the remarkable events that happened in Greece and Sicily, from the year 357 to the year 354.

CHAP. LXI. He ſets out for Egypt and Perſia. 354
During his abſence, which continues eleven years, he receives ſeveral letters from Athens, which bring him information relative to the affairs of Greece, the enterriſe s of Philip, and various intereſting facts.

CHAP. LXII. On his return from Perſia, he finds, at Mitylene, Ariſtotle, who communicates to him his Treatiſe on Government, of which Anacharſis makes an abridgment, 343

CHAP. LXIII. &c. He returns to Athens, where he employs himſelf in his uſual reſearches, Same year

CHAP. LXXII. &c. He makes a voyage to the coaſt of Aſia, and ſeveral of the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, 342

CHAP. LXXVI. He is preſent at the celebration of the feſtivals of Delos, 341

CHAP. LXXX. He returns to Athens, and continues his inquiries.

CHAP. LXXXII. After the battle of Chæronea, he returns to Scythia 337

TRAVELS

TRAVELS

IN

GREECE.

INTRODUCTION.

IF we may credit ancient traditions, the firſt inhabitants of Greece had no other dwellings than profound caverns, which they only quitted to diſpute with the beaſts of the field their coarſe and frequently noxious aliments [a]. United at length under daring chiefs, they found their knowledge, their wants, and their misfortunes increaſe. A ſenſe of their weakneſs had rendered them wretched, they became really ſo from the perception of their powers. War commenced; violent paſſions were enkindled; and terrible was the deſtruction which enſued. Torrents of blood were poured forth to ſecure the poſſeſſion of a country. The victors devoured the vanquiſhed; death hung over every head, and vengeance filled every heart [b].

But whether it be that man at length wearies of his ferocity, or that the climate of Greece, ſooner or later, ſoftens

[a] Plat. in Prot. vol. i. p. 322. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 8. 21. Pauſ. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 599 Macrob. in Somn. Scip. lib. 2. ch. 10.

[b] Euripid. in Siſyph. Fragm. p. 492. Moſch. ap. Stob. Ecl. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 18. Athen. lib. 14. p. 660. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhet. lib. 2. p. 295. Cicer. de Invent. l. 1 ch. 2. t. i. p. 24. In. Orat. pro Sext. ch. 42. t. vi. p. 38. Horat. Sat. lib. 1. ſat. 3. v. 99.

the character of its inhabitants, various hordes of ſavages received with open arms the legiſlators who laboured to civilize them. Theſe legiſlators were Egyptians, who had lately arrived on the coaſts of Argolis. Repairing thither in ſearch of an aſylum, they founded an empire [c]; and it was doubtleſs a beautiful and intereſting ſcene to behold ſavage and barbarous tribes approach, with trembling, the foreign colony; admire their peaceful labours; fell their foreſts, as ancient as the world; diſcover, under their very feet, a ſoil before unknown, and render it productive; ſpread themſelves, with their flocks, over the plains; and ultimately paſs their tranquil and bliſsful days in that peace and ſerenity which have beſtowed on thoſe remote periods the name of the GOLDEN AGE.

This revolution commenced under Inachus [d], who brought into Greece the firſt Egyptian colony [e], and continued under his ſon Phoroneus [f]. In a ſhort ſpace of time, the face of Argolis, Arcadia, and the adjacent countries, was entirely changed [g].

About three centuries after, Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus arrived [h]; the firſt in Attica, the ſecond in Bœotia, and the third in Argolis. With them they brought new colonies of Egyptians and Phœnicians. Induſtry and the arts now paſſed the boundaries of the Peloponneſus; and their progreſs, if we may ſo ſpeak, added new races of men to the human ſpecies.

Nevertheleſs, a part of the ſavages had retired into the mountains, or towards the northern regions of Greece. They attacked theſe riſing ſocieties; which, oppoſing valour to ferocity, brought them to receive, and render obedience to their laws; or compelled them to fly to other climates, in ſearch of a wretched and fatal independence.

[c] Caſt. apud Euſeb. Chron. lib. 1. p. 11. Syncell. p. 64. 124.
[d] In 1970 before Chriſt.
[e] Freret, D. f. de la Chronol. p. 275.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 2. chap. 15. p. 145. Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 84. Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 131.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 8 p. 601.
[h] Cecrops, in 1657 before J. C. Cadmus, in 1594. Danaus, in 1586.

The reign of Phoroneus is the moſt ancient epocha of the hiſtory of the Greeks [i], as that of Cecrops is of the hiſtory of the Athenians. Since the reign of this latter prince, there is a ſpace of twelve hundred and fifty years, which may be divided into two intervals; the one extending to the firſt Olympiad, the other terminating with the taking of Athens by the Lacedæmonians [k]. I ſhall now proceed to relate the principal events that have occurred in both theſe periods, chiefly beſtowing my attention on thoſe which reſpect the Athenians; and I think it proper here to appriſe the reader, that, under the former, the hiſtorical facts and fictions of fable, equally neceſſary to be known in order to underſtand the religion, the cuſtoms, and monuments of Greece, will be indiſcriminately blended in my narrative, as they now are in all our ancient traditions. Perhaps, too, my ſtyle may be found tinctured with that of the authors I have conſulted. When we wander in the land of fiction, it is difficult not occaſionally to borrow its language.

FIRST PART.

THE colony of Cecrops derived its origin from the city of Saïs in Egypt [l]. The adventurers who compoſed it had quitted the happy banks of the Nile, to withdraw themſelves from the tyranny of an inexorable conqueror; and, after a tedious voyage, reached the ſhores of Attica, at all times inhabited by a people whom the fierce nations of Greece had diſdained to bring under the yoke. Their ſterile fields offered no plunder, nor could their weakneſs inſpire any dread [m]. Habituated to the enjoyments of peace, free without know-

[i] Plat. in Tim. tom. iii. p. 22. Clem. Alex. t. i. p. 380. Plin. lib. 1. cap. 56. tom. i. p. 473.

[k] Cecrops, in 1657. Firſt Olympiad, in 776. Taking of Athens, in 404.

[l] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21. Theopomp. ap Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 10. No. 10. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

[m] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 2. Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 130.

ing the value of independence, rude rather than barbarous, they muſt have united themſelves without difficulty to ſtrangers inſtructed by misfortune. In a ſhort time, the Egyptians and the inhabitants of Attica formed but one people: but the former aſſumed over the latter that aſcendancy, which ſooner or later invariably attends ſuperiority of knowledge; and Cecrops, placed at the head of the united people, conceived the noble deſign of beſtowing happineſs on his adopted country.

The ancient poſſeſſors of theſe lands yearly ſaw a regular ſucceſſion of the wild fruits of the oak, and relied on nature for a reproduction which ſecured their annual ſubſiſtence. Cecrops preſented them with a milder nutriment, and taught them to perpetuate it. Various ſpecies of grain were intruſted to the earth [n]. The olive was brought from Egypt into Attica [o]. Trees hitherto unknown extended their branches laden with fruit over rich harveſts. The inhabitant of Attica, led by the example of the Egyptians, expert in agriculture, redoubled his efforts, and inured himſelf to fatigue; but he was not yet ſtimulated by hopes ſufficiently powerful to mitigate his pains, and animate him in his labours.

Marriage was ſubjected to laws [p]; and theſe regulations, the ſources of a new order of virtues and enjoyments, ſufficiently evinced the advantages of decency, the attractions of modeſty, and the deſire of pleaſing; the happineſs of loving, and the neceſſity of conſtancy in love. The father heard the ſecret voice of nature in the receſſes of his heart; he heard it in the heart of his ſpouſe and of his children. He ſurpriſed himſelf ſhedding tears, no longer wrung from him by ſuffering; and learnt to eſteem himſelf by the exertion of ſenſibility. Families ſoon became connected by alliances or mutual wants, and ties innumerable united every member of ſociety. The benefits they enjoyed were no longer confined to them-

[n] Schol. Tzetz. ad Heſiod. Oper. v. 32. Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.

[o] Syncell. p. 153.

[p] Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 6. Athen. lib. 13. p. 555. Suid. in Promet. Nonn. Dionyſ. l. 41. v. 386. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 773.

ſelves; nor the ſufferings from which they were exempted foreign to their feelings.

Other motives facilitated the practice of moral and religious duties. The firſt Greeks offered their homage to gods whoſe names they knew not; and who, too far removed from mortals, and reſerving all their power to regulate the progreſs of the univerſe, only made known ſome few of their ſupreme commands, on rare occaſions, in the little diſtrict of Dodona in Epirus [q]. The foreign colonies beſtowed on theſe deities the names they were known by in Egypt, in Lybia [r], and Phœnicia; attributing to each of them a limited empire, and peculiar functions: the city of Argos was particularly conſecrated to Juno [s]; that of Athens to Minerva [t]; that of Thebes to Bacchus [u]. By this ſlight addition to the religious worſhip of the country, the gods ſeemed to become more immediately connected with Greece, and to ſhare its provinces among them. The people believed them more acceſſible, by ſuppoſing them leſs powerful, and leſs occupied. They found the gods preſent with them on every ſide; and, certain henceforward of ſecuring their attention, they conceived a more elevated idea of human nature.

Cecrops multiplied the objects of public veneration. He invoked the ſovereign of the gods under the title of the Moſt High [w]. He erected numerous temples and altars; but prohibited the ſhedding of the blood of victims, whether to preſerve the animals deſtined to agriculture, or to inſpire his ſubjects with horror for a barbarous ſcene exhibited in Arcadia [x]. A man, a king, the ferocious Lycaon, had recently ſacrificed an infant to thoſe gods, whom we cannot but offend when we violate the dictates of nature. The homage offered them by Cecrops was more worthy of their benignity: his offerings

[q] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 52.
[r] Id. lib. 2. cap 50.
[s] Hygin Fab. 143. Lact. ad Stat. Theb l. 1. v. 541; l. 4 v. 589.
[t] Apoll. l. 3. p. 237. Syncell. p. 153.
[u] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 49. Freret, Def. de la Chronologie, p. 319.
[w] Meurſ. de Reg. Athen. l. 1. c. 9.
[x] Pauſanias, lib. 8 cap. 2. p. 600.

were ears of corn or grain, the firſt fruits of the harveſts with which they enriched Attica; and cakes, the tribute of that induſtry, the value of which his ſubjects now began to know.

In all the inſtitutions of Cecrops, wiſdom and humanity ſhone conſpicuous. The end of ſome was to procure his ſubjects a tranquil life, and to enſure to them honour and veneration, even beyond the grave. He ordained that they ſhould depoſit their mortal remains in the boſom of the common mother of all mankind, and that the earth that covered them ſhould immediately be ſown, that the huſbandman might not be deprived of any portion of the ſoil [y]. The relations of the deceaſed, with their heads decorated with a crown, gave a funeral repaſt; at which, without liſtening to the voice of flattery or friendſhip, the memory of the virtuous man was honoured, and a ſtigma fixed upon the wicked. By this inſtructive cuſtom, the people were taught, that the man who aſpired to preſerve, after his death, a ſecond life in the public eſteem, muſt at leaſt wiſh to leave a reputation for which his children might have no cauſe to bluſh.

The ſame wiſdom may be obſerved in the inſtitution of a tribunal which appears to have been erected towards the latter years of the reign of this prince, or at the beginning of that of his ſucceſſor [z]; I mean the ſenate of Areopagus, which, from its firſt eſtabliſhment, never pronounced a judgment that gave juſt occaſion for complaint [a], and more than any thing contributed to give the firſt ideas of juſtice to the Greeks [b].

Had Cecrops been the author of theſe memorable inſtitutions, and of various others which he employed to inſtruct and civilize the Athenians, he would have been the firſt of legiſlators, and the greateſt of mortals; but they were the work of a whole nation, attentive to bring them to perfec-

[y] Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.
[z] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 3. p. 348.
[a] Demoſth. in Ariſtoc. p. 735.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 38.

tion for a long ſeries of ages. They were brought by him from Egypt; and the effect they produced was ſo ſpeedy, that Attica was ſoon peopled by twenty thouſand inhabitants [c], who were divided into four tribes [d].

So rapid a progreſs attracted the attention of the hordes who lived only by rapine. Pirates landed on the coaſts of Attica; while the Bœotians ravaged the frontiers [e], and ſpread terror on every ſide. Cecrops availed himſelf of theſe inroads, to induce his ſubjects to collect their habitations, then ſcattered over the country, and to ſecure them by a wall againſt the depredations they had lately ſuffered. The foundations of Athens were laid upon the hill where the citadel is ſtill to be ſeen [f]. Eleven other towns were preſently built in different places; and the inhabitants, ſeized with conſternation, ſacrificed what they muſt have held moſt dear, without reluctance. They renounced the freedom of the rural life [g], and ſhut themſelves up within walls; which they would have conſidered as the abode of ſlavery, had they not been compelled to have recourſe to them as the aſylum of weakneſs. Protected by their ramparts, they were the firſt of the Greeks to lay down, during peace, thoſe deſtructive arms, which formerly they had never quitted [h].

Cecrops died after a reign of fifty years [i]. He had eſpouſed the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Attica [k], by whom he had a ſon, whoſe death he lived to ſee; and three daughters, to whom the Athenians afterwards decreed divine honours [l]. His tomb is ſtill preſerved in the temple of Minerva [m]; and his memory perpetuated, in indelible characters,

[c] Philoc. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. od. 9. v. 68

[d] Steph. in Ακτ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. ſect. 109. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 423.

[e] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.

[f] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 413. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 423. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐπακρ.

[g] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.

[h] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 6.

[i] Suid. in Promet.

[k] Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 239.

[l] Herod. lib. 8. cap. 53. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 18. 27. Etymol. in Ἀγλαυρ.

[m] Antioch. ap. Clem. Alexand. t. i. p. 39.

in the conſtellation of Aquarius, which has been conſecrated to him [n].

After Cecrops, reigned ſeventeen princes, during the ſpace of about five hundred and ſixty-five years, the laſt of whom was Codrus.

The greateſt part of theſe merit not the attention of poſterity; and, in fact, what matters it that ſome of them were deprived by their ſucceſſors of the dignity they had uſurped, and that the names of others have eſcaped by chance from oblivion? Let us ſeek, in the hiſtory of their reigns, thoſe peculiarities which muſt have had an influence on the character of the nation, or have contributed to its happineſs.

Under the reigns of Cecrops and of his ſucceſſor Cranaus, the inhabitants of Attica enjoyed an almoſt continual peace. Accuſtomed to the ſweets and obligations of ſociety, they ſtudied their duties in their wants, and formed their manners from example.

Their knowledge, increaſed by ſuch intimate connections, was ſtill more improved by commerce with the adjoining nations. Some years after Cecrops, the light of the Eaſt penetrated into Bœotia. Cadmus, at the head of a Phœnician colony, brought thither the moſt ſublime of all the arts—that of preſerving, by a few ſimple lines, the fugitive ſounds of ſpeech, and the moſt ſubtle operations of the mind [o]. The invention of letters, introduced into Attica, was there ſoon after employed to preſerve the memory of remarkable events.

We cannot pretend to fix, with any degree of preciſion, the time in which other arts were diſcovered, and can only build on traditions. Under the reign of Erichthonius, the colony of Cecrops accuſtomed horſes, already docile to the bit, to draw wheel carriages [p]; and profited by the labour of

[n] Hygin. Poet. Aſtronom. lib. 2. cap 29

[o] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 58. Lucan. lib. 3. v. 220. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 20.

[p] Plin. lib. 7. cap 56. t. i. p. 416. Ælian. Hiſt. Var lib. 3. cap. 38. Ariſtid. in Minerv. Orat. t. i. p. 22. Virgil. Georg. lib. 3. v. 113.

bees, which useful race of insects they carefully preserved on mount Hymettus [q]. Under Pandion, they made new progress in agriculture [r]; but a long drought having destroyed the hopes of the husbandman, the harvests of Egypt supplied the wants of the colony [s], which thence contracted a taste for commerce. Erechtheus, his successor, rendered his reign illustrious by useful institutions [t]; and the Athenians dedicated a temple to him after his death [u].

These successive discoveries redoubled the activity of the people; and, by procuring them abundance, prepared the way for their corruption: for, no sooner did they perceive that the enjoyments of life may be increased, by calling in the aid of art to nature, than the awakened passions hurried them eagerly towards this new image of happiness. Blind imitation, that powerful motive of the greater part of human actions, and which at first had only excited a gentle and beneficent emulation, soon produced the love of distinctions, the desire of preference, jealousy, and hatred. The principal citizens, acting on these various springs at their pleasure, filled the state with dissensions, and directed their ambitious views to the throne. Amphictyon obliged Cranaus to abdicate the sovereignty, and was himself compelled to surrender his crown to Erichthonius [x].

In proportion as the kingdom of Athens acquired strength, those of Argos, Arcadia, Lacedæmon, Corinth, Sicyon, Thebes, Thessaly, and Epirus, were seen gradually to become more powerful, and in various revolutions act their part on the stage of the world.

In the mean time, ancient barbarism again made its appearance, in contempt of laws and manners [y]. Men of extraordinary bodily strength arose at intervals, who infested the high-

[q] Columell. de Re Rustic. lib. 9. cap. 2.
[r] Meurs. de Regib. Athen. l. 2. c. 2
[s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. p. 25.
[t] Diodor. ibid. Meursius, ibid. c. 7.
[u] Herod. lib. 8. cap. 55. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. cap. 19. t. ii. p. 503. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62.
[x] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 7.
[y] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 3.

ways to attack paſſengers, and cruel princes, who inflicted lingering and painful puniſhments on the innocent. But nature, which inceſſantly balances evil with good, to deſtroy theſe ſcourges, gave birth to men ſtill ſtronger than the former, no leſs powerful than the latter, and more juſt than either. Theſe travelled over Greece, and freed it from the violence both of kings and individuals: they appeared to the Greeks as beings of a ſuperior order; and that infant people, no leſs extravagant in their gratitude than in their fears, rewarded the leaſt exploits with ſo much glory, that the honour of protecting them became the firſt ambition of noble minds.

This kind of heroiſm, unknown to ſucceeding ages, and ſtrange to other nations, yet the beſt adapted to conciliate the motives of pride with the intereſt of humanity, ſhone forth in every part of Greece, and exerciſed itſelf in a thouſand various ways. Did ſome ferocious beaſt, iſſuing from the receſſes of the woods, ſpread terror through the plains, the hero of the diſtrict held it to be his duty to triumph over the monſter, in view of a people who ſtill conſidered ſtrength as the firſt of qualities, and courage as the ſublimeſt virtue. Sovereigns themſelves, flattered with annexing to their titles the pre-eminence of a merit held in the higheſt eſtimation in their age, engaged in combats, which, by giving proof of their bravery, ſeemed to add legitimacy to their power. But preſently they became enamoured of the dangers they had heretofore contented themſelves with not dreading. They went to court them at a diſtance, or promoted them around their perſons; and as virtues expoſed to praiſes are but too liable to become enfeebled, their bravery, degenerating into temerity, changed its object no leſs than its character. Their enterpriſes were no longer directed by the good of the people; every thing was ſacrificed to violent paſſions, and impunity redoubled their licentiouſneſs. The hand which had lately dragged a tyrant from his throne, deſpoiled a juſt prince of

the wealth he had inherited from his fathers, or raviſhed from him a queen diſtinguiſhed for her beauty. The hiſtory of the ancient heroes is ſullied by theſe diſgraceful ſtains.

A number of theſe adventurous chiefs, known by the name of Argonauts *, formed the project of making a voyage to a diſtant country, to gain poſſeſſion of the treaſures of Æëtes, king of Colchis [u]. This could not be effected but by traverſing unknown ſeas, and perpetually braving new dangers: but having already ſignalized themſelves individually by ſo many heroic achievements, they concluded, and were juſtified by the event, that by forming a communion of intereſts they ſhould prove invincible. Amongſt theſe heroes, we find Jaſon, who ſeduced and carried off Medea, the daughter of Æëtes, but loſt, during his abſence, the throne of Theſſaly, to which his birth entitled him; Caſtor and Pollux, ſons of Tyndarus, king of Sparta, celebrated for their valour, and ſtill more celebrated for a fraternal union conſecrated by altars; Peleus, king of Phthiotis, who would have been conſidered as a great man, had not his ſon Achilles been ſtill greater than himſelf; the poet Orpheus, who ſhared thoſe labours he alleviated by his ſongs; and laſtly, Hercules, the moſt illuſtrious of mortals, and firſt of the demi-gods [x].

The whole earth is filled with the renown of the name, and the monuments of the glory of the laſt. He was deſcended from the kings of Argos: fable indeed tells us he was the ſon of Jupiter and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon; that the Nemean lion [y], the bull of Crete, the wild boar of Erymanthus, the Lernæan hydra, and monſters ſtill more ferocious, fell beneath his arm. He alſo was the conqueror of Buſiris, king of Egypt, who baſely polluted his hands with the blood of ſtrangers; Antæus of Libya, who only delayed their deaths till he had vanquiſhed them in wreſtling; the

* Toward the year 1360 before J. C.

[u] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 12. v. 70. Schol. ibid. Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 145. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 245. Apollod. l. 1. p. 53. Apollon. Argon. &c.

[x] Diod. lib. 4. p. 223. Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. p. 494.

[y] Apollod. lib. 2. p. 109, &c.

giants of Sicily, the Centaurs of Theſſaly, and all the robbers of the earth, whoſe limits he drove backward to the weſt [z], as Bacchus had fixed them to the eaſt. He is ſaid likewiſe to have opened mountains to unite nations; to have dug ſtraits to intermingle ſeas; to have triumphed over hell, and to have given victory to the gods in their combats with the giants.

His hiſtory is a ſeries of prodigies, or rather, it is the hiſtory of all thoſe who have borne the ſame name, and undergone the ſame labours with himſelf [a]. Tradition has magnified their exploits; and by uniting them in one man, as well as by aſcribing to him alone all the great enterpriſes, the authors of which are unknown, has beſtowed on him a ſplendour that ſeems to reflect luſtre on the human ſpecies. For the Hercules men adored is a phantom of greatneſs, elevated between earth and heaven, as it were to fill up the interval. The real Hercules differed from other men only by his ſtrength, and reſembled the gods of the Greeks only by his infirmities: the good and evil he performed in his frequent expeditions obtained him a celebrity during his life, which gave Greece a new defender in the perſon of Theſeus.

This prince was the ſon of Ægeus, king of Athens, and of Æthra, daughter of the ſage Pittheus, who reigned at Trœzene. He was educated in that city, where the fame of the illuſtrious deeds of Hercules filled him with emulation; he liſtened to the recital of them with an ardour the more anxious, as he was united to that hero by the ties of conſanguinity; and his impatient ſoul panted to overleap the barriers by which he was confined [b]. A ſpacious field now opened to his wiſhes. Robbers once more began to make their appearance; and monſters again iſſued from their foreſts: for Hercules was in Lydia.

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[z] Plat. in. Phæd. t. i. p. 109.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 208. Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 500. Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 60.

[b] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 3.

To gratify this ardent courage, Æthra diſcovers to her ſon the ſecret of his birth. She conducts him to an enormous rock, which ſhe commands him to raiſe [c]: he there finds a ſword, and other tokens of his birth, by which he was one day to be recogniſed by his father. Furniſhed with theſe, he takes the road of Athens; in vain do his mother and his grandfather perſuade him to go thither by ſea; the counſels of prudence offend him no leſs than the ſuggeſtions of timidity: he prefers the path of danger and of glory, and quickly arrives at the haunts of Sinis [d]. It was the practice of this cruel man to faſten thoſe whom he had overcome to the branches of trees, which being forcibly bent down, ſprang up, laden with the bleeding limbs of the unhappy ſufferers. Further on, Sciron had taken poſſeſſion of a narrow path over a mountain, whence he precipitated travellers into the ſea. Still further, Procruſtes extended them on a bed, the length of which muſt be the exact meaſure of their bodies, which he ſhortened or lengthened by dreadful torments [e]. Theſeus attacked theſe barbarous robbers, and put them to death by the cruelties they had themſelves invented.

After multiplied conflicts and ſucceſſes, he arrived at his father's court, at that time diſtracted by violent diſſenſions, which threatened the ſovereign. The Pallantides, a powerful family of Athens [f], ſaw with regret the ſceptre in the hands of an old man, who, as they alleged, had neither the right nor the power to wield it; with their contempt, they openly expreſſed their hope of his approaching death, and their deſire of participating in his ſpoils. The preſence of Theſeus diſconcerted their projects; and leſt Ægeus, by adopting this ſtranger, ſhould find an avenger and legitimate heir, they infuſed into him all the motives of miſtruſt, of which a weak mind is ſuſceptible: but when on the point of immolating his

[c] Plut ibid. et Pauſan. l. 1. c 27.
[d] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 262. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 255.
[e] Plut. ibid. p. 5. Diod. lib. 4. pag. 262, &c.
[f] Plut. t. i. p. 5.

ſon, Ægeus recognized him, and made him known to his people. The Pallantides revolt; Theſeus diſperſes them[g], and inſtantly flies to the plains of Marathon, which had been for ſome years ravaged by a wild bull[h]. He attacked, and having conquered and bound the ferocious animal, exhibited him in triumph to the Athenians, no leſs aſtoniſhed at the ſucceſs, than terrified at the dangers of the combat.

Another event ſoon raiſed their admiration to its utmoſt height. Minos, king of Crete, accuſed them of having put to death his ſon Androgeus, and compelled them by force to deliver him, at ſtated intervals*, a certain number of youths and maidens[i]. Theſe were to be choſen by lot, and their deſtiny was death or ſlavery. It was now the third time that the pledges of their affection were to be torn from their unhappy parents. All Athens was in tears, but Theſeus revived her hopes. He undertook to free the city from this odious tribute; and, to accompliſh the noble project, voluntarily enrolled himſelf in the number of the victims, and embarked for Crete.

The Athenians relate, that it was the cruel practice of Minos to ſhut up his tributary victims, the moment he received them, in a labyrinth, where they were ſoon after devoured by the minotaur, a monſter half a man and half a bull, the offspring of the infamous amours of Paſiphaë, queen of Crete[k]; they add, that Theſeus having ſlain the minotaur, brought back the young Athenians, and was accompanied on his return by Ariadne, daughter of Minos, who aſſiſted him in eſcaping from the labyrinth, and whom he abandoned on the ſhores of Naxos. The Cretans, on the contrary, allege, that the Athenian hoſtages were deſtined to the victors in the

[g] Plut. ibid. p. 6. Pauſan. lib. i. c. 28. p. 70.

[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 262. Plut. t. i. p. 6.

* Every year, according to Apollodorus, lib. 3. p. 253; every ſeventh year, according to Diodorus, lib. 4. p. 263; every ninth year, as Plutarch tells us, in Theſ. t. i. p. 6.

[i] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 264. Plut. ibid.

[k] Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 127. Plut. t. i. p. 6. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 253, et alii.

celebrated games in honour of Androgeus; that Theſeus, having obtained permiſſion to enter the liſts, overcame Taurus, general of the troops of Minos, and that this prince had the generoſity to do juſtice to his valour, and pardon the Athenians.

The teſtimony of the Cretans is more conformable to the character of a prince renowned for his juſtice and his wiſdom: the Athenian account poſſibly originates in their eternal hatred of the conquerors by whom they have been humbled[l]; but both theſe opinions equally prove, that Theſeus delivered his nation from a ſhameful ſervitude; and that, by expoſing his life, he merited the throne left vacant by the death of Ægeus.

Scarcely had he aſcended it, before he formed the plan of ſetting bounds to his authority, and eſtabliſhing a more regular and ſtable form of government[m]. The twelve cities of Attica, founded by Cecrops, were become ſo many republics, each of which had its particular magiſtrates and chiefs almoſt independent[n], whoſe intereſts claſhing continually, produced frequent wars: and though imminent dangers ſometimes obliged them to have recourſe to the protection of the ſovereign, the ſucceeding calm ſoon awakened their ancient jealouſies. The royal authority fluctuating between deſpotiſm and degradation, alternately inſpired terror or contempt; and the people, by the vice of a conſtitution, the nature of which was not exactly underſtood either by prince or ſubjects, had no means whatever to defend themſelves againſt the extremity of ſlavery, or the exceſs of licentiouſneſs.

Theſeus formed his plan; and, ſuperior even to minute obſtacles, took upon himſelf its execution in detail. He traverſed the different diſtricts of Attica, and endeavoured every where to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the people, who

[l] Plut. t. i. p. 7.
[m] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 873. Iſocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 130. Plut. in Theſ. p. 10.
[n] Thucydid. lib. 2. cap. 15.

with ardour received a project which ſeemed to reſtore to them their primitive liberty; but the wealthier claſs, fearing to loſe the authority they had uſurped, and apprehenſive of ſeeing a kind of equality eſtabliſhed between all ranks of citizens, murmured at an innovation which diminiſhed the royal prerogative: not daring, however, openly to oppoſe the will of a prince, who was endeavouring to obtain by perſuaſion what he might exact by force, they conſented, but with a ſecret determination to proteſt againſt the meaſure when circumſtances might be more favourable.

It was now determined that Athens ſhould be the metropolis and centre of the ſtate; that the ſenates of the cities ſhould be aboliſhed; that the legiſlative power ſhould reſide in the general aſſembly of the nation, divided into three claſſes, the nobles, the huſbandmen, and the artificers; that the firſt magiſtrates, choſen out of the former, ſhould have the ſuperintendence of the ſacred rites, and be the interpreters of the laws; that the different orders of citizens ſhould form a mutual balance, the firſt having in its favour the ſplendour of dignities, the ſecond the importance of ſervices, and the third the ſuperiority of number [o]. It was determined, in fine, that Theſeus, placed at the head of the republic, ſhould be the defender of the laws it might enact, and the general of the troops deſtined to its defence.

By theſe diſpoſitions, the government of Athens became eſſentially democratic [p], and, harmonizing happily with the genius of the Athenians, maintained that form, notwithſtanding the alterations it underwent in the time of Piſiſtratus [q]. Theſeus inſtituted a ſolemn feſtival, the ceremonies of which preſerve the memory of the union of the different people of Attica [r]. He erected tribunals for the magiſtrates; he enlarged the capital, and embelliſhed it as far as the imperfection

[o] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 11.
[p] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 873. Eurip. in Suppl. v. 404.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 9.
[r] Thucydid. lib. 2. c. 15. Plut. t. i. p. 11 Steph. in Athen.

of the arts at that time would permit. Strangers, invited to become citizens, flocked thither from all parts, and were incorporated with the ancient inhabitants[s]. He added the territory of Megara to the country; he placed a column on the isthmus of Corinth, as a boundary between Attica and Peloponnesus[t], and revived, near this pillar, the Isthmian games, in imitation of those lately instituted by Hercules at Olympia.

Every thing now seemed favourable to his views: he governed a free people[u], retained in obedience by his moderation and his bounties; he dictated laws of peace and humanity to the neighbouring nations[x], and enjoyed a foretaste of that profound veneration with which succeeding ages gradually honour the memory of great men.

Still, however, was he not equal to the complete accomplishment of his glorious undertaking. He grew weary of the peaceful homage he received, and of the mild virtues which were its source. Two circumstances especially contributed to increase his disgust. His emulation, which continually watched the renowned achievements of Hercules[y], was again excited by the new exploits with which that hero had signalized his return into Greece. On the other side, Pirithoüs, son of Ixion, and sovereign of part of Thessaly, either to make trial of the courage of Theseus, or to induce him to quit his tranquil course of life, conceived a project suitable to the genius of the ancient heroes. He carried off from the plains of Marathon the flocks of the king of Athens[z]; and when Theseus appeared to revenge the injury, Pirithoüs seemed struck with a secret admiration, and offering him his hand in sign of peace, "Be my judge," said he; "what satisfaction do you demand?"—"That," said The-

[s] Plut. ibid. Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 2. Schol. ibid.
[t] Plut. ibid. Strab. lib. 9. p. 392.
[u] Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 137.
[x] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 39. p. 94. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 14.
[y] Diodor. lib. 4. p. 262. Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 125.
[z] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 14.

ſeus, "of uniting you with me by the fellowſhip of arms." On theſe words they ſwore an indiſſoluble alliance [a], and joined in forming plans for new and illuſtrious enterpriſes.

Hercules, Theſeus, and Pirithoüs, friends and generous rivals, engaged in the ſame purſuit of glory, ſeeking only for dangers and for victory, appalling guilt, and making innocence tremble, at that time attracted the attention of all Greece. Sometimes attendant on the former, at others followed by the latter, and ſometimes mingling in the crowd of heroes, Theſeus was called on to ſhare in all theſe illuſtrious adventures. He is ſaid to have triumphed over the Amazons, both on the banks of the Thermodon in Aſia, and in the plains of Attica [b]; he was preſent at the chaſe of the enormous wild boar of Calydon, to deſtroy which Meleager, ſon of the king of that city, aſſembled the moſt courageous princes of his time [c]; he ſignalized himſelf againſt the Centaurs of Theſſaly, thoſe daring men, who having firſt accuſtomed themſelves to fight on horſeback, were better enabled to inflict or to ſhun the ſtroke of death [d].

While engaged in ſo many adventures, glorious, it is true, but wholly unprofitable to his people, he aſſociated with Pirithoüs, to carry off the princeſſes of Sparta and Epirus, both diſtinguiſhed by a beauty which gave them immortal celebrity, but which was to each the ſource of fatal misfortunes [e]; the one was that Helen, whoſe charms eventually produced ſuch ſtreams of blood and tears; the other, Proſerpine, daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Moloſſi.

They found Helen performing a dance in the temple of Diana; and tearing her from the midſt of her companions, eſcaped by flight from the chaſtiſement that threatened their ſtay in Lacedæmon, and awaited them at Epirus; for Aidoneus, appriſed of their deſigns, delivered Pirithoüs over to be devoured by monſtrous dogs, and precipitated Theſeus into

[a] Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 1664. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 29. p. 870.

[b] Iſocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 281. Plut. t. i. p. 12. Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 2. et 41.

[c] Plut. ibid. p. 13.

[d] Iſocr. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 126. Herod. ap. Plut. in Theſ. p. 13.

[e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 265.

the horrors of a priſon, from which he was delivered only by the friendly aſſiduity of Hercules.

Returning to his kingdom, he found his family covered with diſgrace, and the city rent by factions. The queen, that Phædra whoſe name has ſo often reſounded on the ſtage of Athens, had conceived for Hippolytus, his ſon by Antiope, queen of the Amazons, a paſſion which ſhe herſelf condemned, which inſpired the youthful prince with horror, and ſhortly terminated in the deſtruction of them both. At the ſame time the Pallantides, at the head of the principal citizens, endeavoured to ſeize on the ſovereign power, which they accuſed Theſeus of having enfeebled. The people had loſt, in the exerciſe of their newly acquired authority, all love of order, and every ſentiment of gratitude. To theſe vexations were added the arrival and complaints of Caſtor and Pollux, the brothers of Helen, who, before they had reſcued her from the cuſtody of thoſe to whom ſhe had been confided by Theſeus, had ravaged Attica [f], and excited the bittereſt murmurs againſt a king, who, ſacrificing every thing to his paſſions, abandoned the government of his ſtates to roam through diſtant countries in ſearch of diſgraceful adventures, the ſhame of which he was forced to expiate in chains.

In vain did Theſeus labour to remove theſe fatal impreſſions. His abſence, his achievements, his misfortunes were imputed to him as crimes; and when he attempted to employ force, he ſoon found that no creature is ſo feeble as a ſovereign degraded in the eyes of his ſubjects.

In this extremity, uttering the bittereſt imprecations on the Athenians, he took refuge in the court of king Lycomedes, in the iſle of Scyros [g], where he ſoon after ended his days *, either from the conſequences of an accident, or the treachery of Lycomedes [h], deſirous to acquire the friendſhip of Mneſtheus, his ſucceſſor at Athens.

[f] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 73.
[g] Plut. in Theſ. p. 16. Heracl. de Polit. Athen.

* Towards the year 1305 before Chriſt.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 41.

The actions of Theſeus, and the impreſſion they made on the minds of men during his youth, at the commencement of his reign, and at the end of his life, preſent to us ſucceſſively the image of a hero, a king, and an adventurer; and, under theſe different points of view, he merited the admiration, the love, and the contempt of the Athenians.

They afterwards forgot his errors, and bluſhed at their rebellion [j]. Cimon, ſon of Miltiades, by order of the oracle, brought home his bones, and buried them within the walls of Athens [k]. Over his tomb a temple was erected, embelliſhed by the arts, and ſince become the aſylum of the wretched [l]. Various monuments retrace him to our eyes, and recal the memory of his reign. He is one of the genii who preſide over the days of every month [m], and one of the heroes honoured by feſtivals and ſacrifices [n]. Athens, in fine, regards him as the firſt author of her power, and prides herſelf in the title of the city of Theſeus.

The anger of the gods, which baniſhed him from his country, had long weighed heavily on the kingdom of Thebes. Cadmus had been driven from the throne erected by himſelf, Polydore torn to pieces by the Bacchanalian nymphs, Labdacus prematurely carried off by death, leaving only one ſon in the cradle, and ſurrounded by enemies. Such had been, from the foundation of this kingdom, the fate of the royal family, when Laïus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Labdacus, after twice loſing and recovering the crown, eſpouſed Epicaſte, or Jocaſta, daughter of Menœceus [o]; nuptials deſtined to be marked by the moſt horrible calamities. An oracle declared that the child who ſhould be born from this marriage ſhould be the murderer of his father, and the huſband of his mother. This

[j] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 265.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 41. Plut. in Theſ. p. 17.; in Cimon. p. 483.
[l] Diod. ibid. Plut. in Theſ. p. 17. Suid. et Heſych. in Theſ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 627.
[m] Plut. in Theſ. p. 17. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 627.
[n] Plut. in Theſ. p. 17.; in Cimon. p. 483.
[o] Diod. lib. 4. p. 266. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 5. p. 721. Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 10.

child was born and condemned by the authors of his being to become the prey of wild beaſts. Diſcovered by his cries, or accident, in a lonely place, he was preſented to the queen of Corinth, who brought him up in her court under the name of Œdipus, and in quality of her adopted ſon [p].

Having attained manhood, and being informed of the dangers to which he had been expoſed, he conſulted the gods, and their miniſters confirming by their anſwer the oracle which had preceded his birth [q], he was precipitated into the calamities he endeavoured to avoid. Reſolved to return no more to Corinth, which he conſidered as his native country, he took the road to Phocis, and in his way met, in a narrow path, an old man, who haughtily commanded him to leave the way open to him, endeavouring at the ſame time to compel him to obedience by force. This was Laïus: Œdipus repelled his attack, and laid him dead at his feet [r].

After this fatal accident, the kingdom of Thebes and the hand of Jocaſta were promiſed to the man who ſhould deliver the Thebans from the evils with which they were afflicted. Sphinx, a natural daughter of Laïus, aſſociating with a band of robbers, ravaged the plain, detained travellers by artful queſtions, and led them aſtray amongſt the windings of Mount Phicion, to deliver them into the hands of her perfidious companions. Œdipus unravelled her ſnares, diſperſed the accomplices of her crimes, and, by gathering the fruit of his victory, fulfilled in all its extent the prediction of the oracle.

Inceſt triumphed on the earth, but heaven haſtened to arreſt it in its courſe [s]. Diſcoveries hateful and horrid ſoon appalled the guilty couple. Jocaſta terminated her misfortunes by a violent death. Œdipus, according to ſome au-

[p] Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 30. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 181.
[q] Apollodor. ibid. p. 183.
[r] Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 40. Diod. lib. 4. p. 266.
[s] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 11. v. 273.

thors, tore out his eyes [t], and died in Attica, where Theſeus had granted him an aſylum. But other traditions ſay [u], he was condemned to ſupport the light of day, that he might behold thoſe places which had been the ſcenes of his crimes; and to retain life, that he might communicate it to children ſtill more guilty, and no leſs unfortunate than himſelf. Theſe were Eteocles, Polynices, Antigone, and Iſmene, whom he had by Eurygania, his ſecond wife [x].

No ſooner were the two princes of an age to wield the ſceptre, than they confined Œdipus in the receſſes of his palace, and agreed alternately to guide the reins of government during a whole year [y]. Eteocles firſt aſcended that throne under which the threatening abyſs was ſtill open, and refuſed to reſign his power. Polynices repaired to the court of Adraſtus, king of Argos, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with powerful ſuccours [z].

Such was the origin of the firſt expedition in which the Greeks diſplayed ſome knowledge of the military art *. Hitherto Greece had only beheld bands of men, not ſoldiers, ſuddenly over-run a neighbouring country, and retire after committing a few hoſtilities and tranſient acts of cruelty [a]. In the war of Thebes, projects were firſt ſeen to be concerted with prudence, and purſued with firmneſs: different nations then firſt aſſociated in one and the ſame camp, and were united under the ſame general, braving with equal courage the rigour of the ſeaſons, the tedioufneſs of a ſiege, and the perils of daily combats.

Adraſtus ſhared the command of the army with Polynices, whom he wiſhed to eſtabliſh on the throne of Thebes; the brave Tydeus, ſon of Œneas king of Ætolia; the impetuous

[t] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 185.

[u] Mem. de l'Academ. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hiſt. p. 146. Banier. Mytholog. t. iii. p. 367.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 69. Idem, lib. 9. c. 5. p. 722. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 185.

[y] Diod. lib. 4. p. 267. Eurip. in Phœniſſ. v. 64. Apollodor. ibid.

[z] Diodor. ibid.

* The year 1329 before Chriſt.

[a] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 728.

Capaneus; Amphiaraus the ſoothſayer; Hippomedon, and Parthenopæus. Amongſt the followers of theſe warriors, all diſtinguiſhed by their birth and valour [b], appeared, in an inferior order of merit and of dignities, the principal inhabitants of Meſſenia, Arcadia, and Argolis [c].

The army having begun its march, entered the Nemean foreſt, where the generals inſtituted the games ſtill celebrated with the greateſt ſolemnity [d]. After paſſing the Iſthmus of Corinth, they entered Bœotia, and forced the troops of Eteocles to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of Thebes [e].

The Greeks were yet ignorant of the art of gaining poſſeſſion of a place defended by a ſtrong garriſon. All the efforts of the beſiegers were directed againſt the gates; all the hopes of the beſieged conſiſted in frequent ſallies. In theſe, great numbers had already fallen on both ſides; already the valiant Capaneus had been precipitated from the top of a ladder he had reared againſt the wall [f]; when Eteocles and Polynices reſolved to decide their differences by ſingle combat [g]. The day being appointed, the place determined, the people in tears, and the armies waiting in profound ſilence, the two princes ruſhed upon each other; and mutually pierced with wounds, breathed forth their laſt, unable to ſatiate their vengeance. They were laid on the ſame funeral pile; and in order to expreſs, by a dreadful image, their implacability during life, it was ſaid that the flame itſelf, as if animated by their hatred, had divided, that their aſhes might remain diſtinct and unmixed.

Creon, brother of Jocaſta, was intruſted, during the minority of Laodamas, ſon of Eteocles, with the continuance of a war that every day became more fatal to the aſſailants, and which was terminated by a vigorous ſally of the Thebans. The combat was dreadful and bloody; Tydeus, and the chief

[b] Diodor. lib. 4. p. 267. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 187. Æſchyl. in Sept. cont. Theb. Euripid. in Phœniſſ.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 156.
[d] Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 189. Argument. in Nem. Pind. p. 319.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 729.
[f] Diod. lib. 4. p. 268.
[g] Apollod. lib. 3. p. 193.

Part of the Argive generals periſhed in it. Adraſtus, compelled to raiſe the ſiege, was unable to beſtow funeral honours on thoſe who remained on the field of battle [h]. Theſeus was obliged to interpoſe his authority to conſtrain Creon to ſubmit to the law of nations, then beginning to be introduced [i].

The victory of the Thebans only deferred their deſtruction. The Argive chiefs had left ſons worthy of becoming their avengers. When every thing was ripe for the enterpriſe *, theſe young princes, among whom appeared Diomed, ſon of Tydeus, and Sthenelus, ſon of Capaneus, entered the country of their enemies at the head of a formidable army.

A battle ſoon enſued, and the Thebans having loſt it, abandoned the city, which was delivered over to pillage [k]. Theraſander, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Polynices, was ſlain a few years after, going to the ſiege of Troy. After his death, two princes of the ſame family reigned at Thebes; but the ſecond being ſuddenly ſeized with a dreadful phrenzy, the Thebans, perſuaded that the furies would never ceaſe to purſue the blood of Œdipus while there remained a ſingle drop of it upon the earth, placed another family on the throne. Three generations after they adopted the republican form of government, which they ſtill preſerve [l].

It was impoſſible that the repoſe enjoyed by Greece, after the ſecond Theban war, ſhould be durable. The leaders of that expedition had returned crowned with glory, and the ſoldiers laden with the ſpoils of their enemies: both were elated with all the pride which victory inſpires; and recounting to their children and their friends, eagerly thronging round them, the iſſue of their labours and exploits, powerfully ſtimulated their imaginations, and inflamed every heart with the ardent thirſt of combats. An unforeſeen event ſoon brought into action theſe unfortunate impreſſions.

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[h] Diod. lib. 4. p. 268. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 195.

[i] Iſocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 269. Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 38. p. 94. Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 14.

* The year 1319 before Chriſt.

[k] Pauſan. lib. 9. c. 5. p. 722. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 38. p. 197. Diod. lib. 4. p. 269.

[l] Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 723.

On the coaſt of Aſia, oppoſite to Greece, peaceably lived a prince, who enumerated only ſovereigns among his anceſtors, and was himſelf at the head of a numerous family, almoſt entirely compoſed of youthful heroes. Priam reigned at Troy; and his kingdom, as well from the opulence and the courage of his people, as from his connections with the kings of Aſſyria [m], diffuſed no leſs ſplendour over this quarter of Aſia, than the kingdom of Mycenæ diſplayed in Greece.

The houſe of Argos, eſtabliſhed in the latter city, acknowledged for its chief Agamemnon, ſon of Atreus. To his dominions he had added thoſe of Corinth, of Sicyon, and ſeveral adjoining cities [n]. His power, increaſed by that of his brother Menelaus, who had lately eſpouſed Helen, heireſs of the kingdom of Sparta, gave him a conſiderable influence in this part of Greece, which, from Pelops, his grandfather, had taken the name of Peloponneſus.

Tantalus, his great grandfather, firſt reigned in Lydia; and, contrary to the moſt ſacred rights, had held in chains a Trojan prince, named Ganymede. Still more recently, Hercules, deſcended from the kings of Argos, had deſtroyed the city of Troy, put to death Laomedon, and carried off Heſione his daughter.

The memory of theſe injuries, ſtill unrevenged, perpetuated between the houſes of Priam and Agamemnon an hereditary and implacable hatred, inflamed from day to day by the rivalry of power, the moſt terrible of the deſtructive paſſions. Paris, the ſon of Priam, was deſtined to bring to maturity theſe latent ſeeds of diſſenſion.

Paris paſſed into Greece, and repaired to the court of Menelaus, where the beauty of Helen attracted every eye. To the advantages of perſon, the Trojan prince united the deſire of pleaſing [o], and a happy combination of agreeable talents: theſe qualities, heightened by the hope of ſucceſs, made ſuch

[m] Plat. de Legib. l. 3. t. ii. p. 685.
[n] Strabo, lib. 8. p. 372.
[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 39.

an impreſſion on the queen of Sparta, that ſhe abandoned all to follow him. The Atridæ in vain ſtrove to obtain, by conciliatory means, a ſatisfaction proportionate to the offence; Priam only ſaw in his ſon the avenger of the wrongs his houſe and all Aſia had ſuffered from the Greeks [p], and rejected every accommodating propoſal.

On this extraordinary news, thoſe tumultuous and furious menaces, thoſe rumours which are the forerunners of war and death, broke forth and were heard on all ſides. The nations of Greece were agitated like a foreſt ſhaken by the tempeſt. The kings whoſe power was limited to a ſingle city, and thoſe whoſe authority extends over different tribes of people, alike inſpired by the ſpirit of heroiſm, aſſembled at Mycenæ. They ſwore to obey Agamemnon as their chief in the expedition, to avenge Menelaus, and reduce Ilium to aſhes. Thoſe princes who were at firſt unwilling to enter into the confederation, were ſoon hurried away by the perſuaſive eloquence of Neſtor, king of Pylos; the artful harangues of Ulyſſes, king of Ithaca; the example of Ajax, of Salamis; of Diomedes, of Argos; of Idomeneus, of Crete; of Achilles, ſon of Peleus, who reigned over a diſtrict of Theſſaly; and by a multitude of youthful warriors, already intoxicated with the ſucceſs of which their ſanguine ardour entertained no doubt.

After long preparations, the army, conſiſting of about one hundred thouſand men [q], collected together at the port of Aulis; and was conveyed by near twelve hundred ſail of ſhips to the ſhores of Troas.

The city of Troy, defended by ramparts and towers, was ſtill further protected by a numerous army [r], commanded by Hector, ſon of Priam [s]; under whom ſerved a number of allied princes, who had joined their forces to the Trojans [s].

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[p] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 1.
[q] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 494, &c. Thucydid. lib. 1. c. 10.
[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 562.
[s] Id. lib. 2. v. 876. lib. 10. v. 434.

Aſſembled on the ſhore, they preſented a formidable front to the army of the Greeks, who, after repulſing them, fortified themſelves in a camp, with the greateſt part of their ſhips.

The two armies again made trial of their ſtrength; and the doubtful ſucceſs of ſeveral ſkirmiſhes evidently foretold that the ſiege muſt prove a work of time.

The Greeks with their frail veſſels, and but little knowledge of the art of navigation, were unable to preſerve an uninterrupted communication between Greece and Aſia. The army began to want ſubſiſtence. Part of the fleet was employed in ravaging, or in ſowing the iſlands and adjacent coaſts; whilſt various parties, diſperſed over the country, carried off the flocks and harveſts. There was yet another reaſon which rendered theſe detachments abſolutely neceſſary. The city was not inveſted; and as the troops of Priam ſecured it againſt a ſudden aſſault, it was determined to haraſs the allies of this prince; at once to profit by their ſpoils, and to deprive him of their ſuccour. Achilles ravaged the country on all ſides with fire and ſword [t]: after ſpreading univerſal havoc like a deſtructive torrent, he returned with an immenſe booty, which was divided among the army, and with innumerable ſlaves, which the chiefs diſtributed among themſelves.

Troy was ſituated at the foot of Mount Ida, at ſome diſtance from the ſea: the Grecian tents and ſhips occupied the ſhore; and the intermediate ſpace was the theatre of courage and ferocity. The Trojans and the Greeks, armed with pikes, clubs, ſwords, arrows, and javelins; covered with helmets, cuiraſſes, cuiſſes, and bucklers; their ranks cloſe, and their generals at their head, advanced toward each other; the former with loud ſhouts, the latter obſerving a ſtill more dreadful ſilence. In an inſtant the leaders, become ſoldiers, more emulous of giving great examples than prudent coun-

[t] Iliad. lib. 9. v. 328.

ſels, ruſhed forward into the midſt of danger, leaving it almoſt invariably to chance to beſtow that victory they neither knew how to plan or to proſecute: the troops were thrown into confuſion on the firſt ſhock, like the waves agitated by the winds in the ſtraits of Eubœa. Night ſeparated the combatants; the city on the one ſide, or the camp on the other, ſerved as an aſylum for the vanquiſhed: the victory was bloody, but was far from producing any effect.

On the following days, the flame of the funeral pile devoured the victims of a premature death, and their memory was honoured by tears and funeral games. The truce expired, and hoſtilities again commenced.

Often, in the hotteſt of the battle, a warrior, raiſing his voice, defied ſome chieftan of the enemy to ſingle combat. The troops in ſilence beheld them ſometimes hurl their javelins, and ſometimes enormous ſtones. Frequently they cloſed ſword in hand, and almoſt always mutually loaded each other with inſult, to exaſperate their fury. The hatred of the victor ſurvived his triumph: if he could not mangle the body of his enemy, and deprive it of the rites of ſepulture, he at leaſt endeavoured to deſpoil him of his armour. But, at the ſame moment, the troops on each ſide advanced, either to ſnatch from him his prey, or to enable him to ſecure it; and thus the action became general.

It became ſo likewiſe when either of the armies was alarmed for the life of its champion, or when he himſelf ſought ſafety in flight. Circumſtances might juſtify this latter conduct, but inſult and contempt for ever ſtigmatized the man who fled without a ſtruggle, ſince he only deſerves to live who is at all times ready to brave death. Indulgence, nevertheleſs, was extended to him who did not retire before the ſuperiority of his antagoniſt, till he had experienced his proweſs: for the valour of thoſe times conſiſting leſs in intrepidity of mind than the conſciouſneſs of ſtrength, it was no diſgrace to fly when vanquiſhed only by neceſſity; but

great glory was annexed to the overtaking an enemy in his retreat, and uniting to the ſtrength that prepared the victory, the ſwiftneſs which effected its deciſion.

Aſſociations in arms and ſentiments between two warriors never were ſo common as during the ſiege of Troy. Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax and Teucer, Diomedes and Sthenelus, Idomeneus and Merion, and a multitude of other heroes worthy to follow their ſteps, frequently fought by the ſide of each other, and throwing themſelves into the thickeſt of the battle, ſhared at once the danger and the glory. At other times, mounted on the ſame car, one guided the courſers, whilſt the other repelled death, and drove him back upon the enemy. The death of a warrior required a ſpeedy vengeance on the part of his companion: blood demanded blood.

This idea, powerfully impreſſed on their minds, ſteeled the Greeks and Trojans againſt the numberleſs calamities they endured. The former had more than once been on the point of taking the city; more than once had the latter forced the camp, in deſpite of the paliſadoes, the ditches, and walls by which it was defended. Both armies ſenſibly diminiſhed, and the moſt illuſtrious warriors on each ſide ſucceſſively fell. Hector, Sarpedon, Ajax, Achilles himſelf, had already bitten the duſt. Such changes of fortune induced the Trojans to wiſh that Helen might be reſtored; while the Greeks ſighed to reviſit their native country: both however were withheld from any accommodation, by ſhame, and that unhappy propenſity which men have to habituate themſelves to every thing, except what may enſure their tranquillity and happineſs.

The eyes of all nations were fixed on the plains of Troy, on thoſe ſcenes to which glory loudly ſummoned the princes who had taken no part at the beginning of the war. Impatient to ſignalize themſelves on a theatre open to the whole world, they arrived ſucceſſively to unite their troops to thoſe of their allies, and ſometimes fell in a maiden combat.

At length, after ten years of reſiſtance and painful labour, after having loſt the flower of her youth and of her heroes, Troy fell beneath the power of her enemies; and her fall ſo reſounded through all Greece, that it ſtill ſerves as a principal epocha in the annals of nations *. Her walls were levelled with the duſt, her houſes, her temples reduced to aſhes. Priam expiring at the foot of the altars, his ſons weltering in their blood around him; Hecuba his queen, Caſſandra his daughter, Andromache the widow of Hector, and numerous other princeſſes, loaded with chains, and dragged like ſlaves through the ſtreets, ſtreaming with human blood, and filled with the bodies of a wretched multitude, devoured by the flames, or ſlaughtered by the avenging ſword; ſuch was the cataſtrophe of this fatal war. The Greeks ſatiated their inexorable fury; but this cruel pleaſure was the end of their proſperity, and the commencement of their calamities.

Their return home was rendered remarkable by the moſt ſignal reverſe of fortune [u]. Mneſtheus, king of Athens, ended his days in the iſle of Melos [x]. Ajax, king of the Locrians, was loſt with his whole fleet [y]. Ulyſſes, more unfortunate, had often reaſon to fear the ſame fate, during the ten whole years which he wandered over the ſeas. Others, ſtill more to be lamented, were received in their families as ſtrangers, poſſeſſing claims obſolete from long abſence, and whoſe perſons an unexpected return had rendered odious. Inſtead of the tranſports which their arrival ought to have excited, they heard around them nothing but the hateful exclamations of ambition, adultery, and the moſt ſordid intereſt. Betrayed by their kindred and their friends, the greater number departed under the conduct of Idomeneus, Philoctetes, Diomedes, and Teucer, to ſeek new connections in unknown countries.

* The year 1282 before Chriſt.
[u] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 682.
[x] Euſeb. Chron. Can. p. 128.
[y] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 4. v. 499.

The houſe of Argos was eſpecially to be diſtinguiſhed for its crimes and inteſtine miſeries. Agamemnon found his throne and bed ſeized on and polluted by an unworthy uſurper. He was aſſaſſinated by Clytemneſtra his queen, who ſoon after was murdered by her ſon Oreſtes.

Theſe horrors, then multiplied in almoſt every country of Greece, and ſtill repeatedly exhibited on the ſtage of Athens, ſhould be a leſſon to kings and nations, and teach them to dread even victory itſelf. That of the Greeks was no leſs fatal to themſelves than to the Trojans. Enfeebled by their exertions and their ſucceſſes, they were no longer able to reſiſt inteſtine diſſenſions, and became habituated to the fatal idea, that war is as neceſſary to a country as peace. In the courſe of a few generations, the greater part of thoſe royal houſes, which had deſtroyed that of Priam, fell to decay, and became extinct; and eighty years after the deſtruction of Troy [z], a part of Peloponneſus paſſed into the hands of the Heraclidæ, or deſcendants of Hercules.

The revolution produced by the return of theſe princes was brilliant, and founded on the moſt ſpecious pretexts*. Amongſt the families which, in the remoteſt times, poſſeſſed the throne of Argos and Mycenæ, the moſt diſtinguiſhed were thoſe of Danaus and Pelops. From the firſt of theſe princes, Prœtus, Acriſius, Perſeus, and Hercules were deſcended; from the ſecond, Atreus, Agamemnon, Oreſtes and his ſons.

Hercules, ſubſervient during his lifetime to the will of Euryſtheus, whom certain circumſtances had inveſted with the ſupreme power, was unable to aſſert his rights, but tranſmitted them to his ſons, who were conſequently baniſhed from Peloponneſus. They more than once attempted to return [a], but were conſtantly prevented by the houſe of Pelops, which, after the death of Euryſtheus, had uſurped the crown: their

[z] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 12.
* In 1202 before Chriſt.
[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 26. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 261.

titles were crimes ſo long as they could be oppoſed by force; but no ſooner did this family ceaſe to be ſo formidable, than the attachment of the people to their ancient ſovereigns was renewed in favour of the Heraclidæ, and the jealouſy of the neighbouring powers rouſed againſt the houſe of Pelops. That of Hercules was headed by three brothers, Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, who aſſociating with the Dorians [b], entered with them into Peloponneſus, where moſt of the cities were obliged to recognize them for their ſovereigns [c].

The deſcendants of Agamemnon driven out of Argos, and thoſe of Neſtor from Meſſenia, took refuge, the former in Thrace, the latter in Attica. Argos fell to the lot of Temenus, and Meſſenia to that of Creſphontes. Euryſthenes and Procles, ſons of Ariſtodemus, who died in the beginning of the expedition, reigned at Lacedæmon [d].

Some time after, the conquerors attacked Codrus, king of Athens, who had afforded an aſylum to their enemies. This prince, learning that the oracle promiſed the victory to that army which ſhould loſe its general in the battle, voluntarily devoted himſelf to death; a ſacrifice which ſo animated his troops, that they entirely defeated the Heraclidæ [e].

Here end the ages uſually termed heroic; and here muſt we place ourſelves to conceive a juſt idea of the ſpirit of them, and enter into details which the rapid courſe of events has ſcarcely given time to indicate.

In ancient times all the ſtates of Greece were monarchies [f]; at this day we ſee nothing but republics. The firſt kings poſſeſſed only a ſingle city or a diſtrict [g]. Some extended their power at the expence of their neighbours, and formed great

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[b] Strab. lib. 9. p. 393.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 13. p. 140.
[d] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 18. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. cap. 43. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 18. p. 151. Id. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 205. Vell. Patercul. lib. 1. c. 2.
[e] Meurſ. de Reg. Athen. l. 3. c. 11.
[f] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 297. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3. t. iii. p. 161.
[g] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 13. Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 495. &c.

ſtates: their ſucceſſors loſt their authority while they wiſhed to increaſe it to the detriment of their ſubjects.

Had no other colonies emigrated into Greece but that of Cecrops, the Athenians, more enlightened, and conſequently more powerful than the other ſavages, would have gradually brought them under ſubjection, and Greece would have formed only one great kingdom, which would ſtill have ſubſiſted, and have reſembled thoſe of Egypt and of Perſia. But various tribes arriving from the Eaſt, divided it into ſeveral ſtates; and the Greeks every where adopted the monarchical form of government, the nations which poliſhed them being acquainted with no other; it being more eaſy too to obey the commands of a ſingle man than thoſe of ſeveral chiefs, and the idea of at once obeying and commanding, of being ſubject and ſovereign at the ſame time, ſuppoſing more knowledge and combination than can be ſuppoſed in an infant people.

The kings exerciſed the functions of pontiff, general, and judge [h]; the power they tranſmitted to their deſcendants [i] was very extenſive, yet tempered by a council whom they conſulted, and whoſe deciſions they communicated to the general aſſembly of the nation [k].

Sometimes, after a long war, the two pretenders to the throne, or the two warriors they had choſen, preſented themſelves armed; and the right of governing men depended on the ſtrength or addreſs of the victor.

To ſupport the ſplendour of his rank, the ſovereign, beſides the tributes impoſed upon the people [l], poſſeſſed a domain inherited from his anceſtors, which had been augmented by his conqueſts, and ſometimes by the generoſity of his friends. Theſeus, baniſhed from Athens, had no other reſource but the eſtates left him by his father in the iſle of

h Ariſt. de Repub. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 357.
i Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 13.
k Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 32. Dionyſ. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 261.
l Homer. Iliad. l. 9. v. 156. Schol. ibid. Odyſſ. lib. 13. v. 15.

Scyros[m]. The Ætolians, preſſed by a powerful enemy, promiſed Meleager, ſon of their king Œneus, a conſiderable tract of land, if he would combat at their head[n]. The multiplicity of examples renders it impoſſible to enumerate all the princes who owed part of their wealth to victory or gratitude: but we muſt not omit remarking, that they gloried in the preſents they obtained, becauſe theſe preſents being conſidered as the recompence of benevolence, or the ſymbol of friendſhip, it was honourable to receive, and diſgraceful not to merit them.

Nothing contributed more to add luſtre to the ſupreme authority, and energy to courage, than the ſpirit of heroiſm; nothing harmonized more happily with the manners of the nation, which were almoſt every where the ſame. The character of the men of that day was compoſed of an inconſiderable number of ſimple, but expreſſive and ſtrongly marked features: art had not yet added her colouring to the work of nature. Individuals, therefore, muſt have differed from each other, and nations borne a ſtriking reſemblance.

Bodies naturally robuſt, became ſtill ſtronger by education; minds inflexible and unrefined, were active and enterpriſing, loving or hating to exceſs, always hurried on by the ſenſes, and conſtantly ready to break all bounds. Nature, leſs conſtrained in thoſe who were inveſted with power, diſplayed herſelf with more energy in them than in the people; they revenged an offence by violence or injuſtice; and ſhowing themſelves weaker in grief than in misfortune, if ſenſibility be a weakneſs, they wept over the inſult they were unable to retaliate. Mild and obliging, when treated with friendſhip and reſpect; impetuous and terrible when theſe were wanting, they ſuddenly paſſed from the exceſs of violence to the bittereſt remorſe; and repaired their faults with the ſame ſimplicity as they avowed them[o]. In a word, as they nei-

[m] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 16.
[n] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 573.
[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 360. Id. lib. 23. paſſim. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 8. v. 402.

ther knew how to veil or diſſemble their virtues or their vices, princes and heroes were openly inflamed with the thirſt of gain, of glory, and of pleaſure.

Theſe maſculine and haughty minds were incapable of languid emotions. They were agitated at once by the two noble ſentiments of love and friendſhip: with this difference, that love with them was a devouring and a tranſient flame; friendſhip, a lively and continued warmth. Friendſhip produced actions conſidered at this day as prodigies, but formerly as no more than duties. Pylades and Oreſtes wiſhing to die for each other, only did what other heroes had done before them. Love, violent in its tranſports, cruel in its jealouſy, was frequently attended by the moſt fatal conſequences. Over hearts more ſuſceptible than tender, beauty had more ſway than the qualities by which it is embelliſhed; beauty was the ornament of the ſuperb feſtivals given by princes when they contracted an alliance. There, amid kings and warriors, princeſſes aſſembled, whoſe preſence and rivalry were a frequent ſource of diſſenſions and misfortunes.

At the nuptials of a king of Lariſſa, ſome young Theſſalians, known by the name of Centaurs, inſulted the companions of the youthful queen, and fell victims to the vengeance of Theſeus, and ſeveral heroes, who, on that occaſion, ſtood forth the champions of a ſex which they more than once had groſsly injured [p].

The marriage of Thetis and of Peleus was diſturbed by the pretenſions of ſome princeſſes, who, diſguiſed, as was the cuſtom, under the names of Juno, Minerva, and other goddeſſes, were all competitors for the prize of beauty [q].

The princes and heroes were likewiſe aſſembled by another kind of ſpectacle: they thronged to the funeral rites of a ſovereign, and diſplayed their magnificence and addreſs in games

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 272. Ovid. Metam. lib. 12. v. 210. Hom. Odyſſ. lib. 21. v. 295.

[q] Mezir. Comment. ſur les Epitres d'Ovid. t. i. p. 220. Ban. Mythol. t. iii. p. 182.

celebrated in honour of his memory. Games were exhibited over a tomb, decorum being unneceſſary to grief. The delicacy that rejects all conſolation, is an exceſs or perfection in ſentiment with which they were yet unacquainted; but they well knew how to ſhed unfeigned tears, to ſuſpend them at the command of Nature[r], and again to let them flow when the heart called to mind the memory of its loſſes: "I find a "moſt lively pleaſure," ſays Menelaus in Homer[s], "in "weeping for thoſe who fell before the walls of Troy." Yet this was ten years after their death.

The heroes of that age were at the ſame time religious and unjuſt. When, by accident, to gratify their perſonal hatred, or in their own defence, they had been the cauſe of the death of any one, they ſhuddered at the blood they had ſpilt; and abandoning their throne or native land, went to implore the aid of expiation in ſome diſtant country. After the ſacrifices enjoined them by this ceremony, a purifying water was poured upon the guilty hand[t]; after which they again returned into ſociety, and prepared themſelves for new combats.

The people, ſtruck with this ceremony, were not leſs awed by the menacing exterior conſtantly aſſumed by their heroes. Some threw over their ſhoulders the ſpoils of the tigers and lions over which they had triumphed[u]; others appeared with maſſy clubs, or weapons of different kinds, wreſted from the robbers from whom they had delivered Greece[x].

Thus habited, they preſented themſelves to claim the rights of hoſpitality, rights at preſent circumſcribed within certain families, but then common to all[y]. At the voice of the ſtranger every door flew open, every attention was laviſhed; and while offering the nobleſt homage to humanity, no inquiries were made reſpecting rank or birth, till they had an-

[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 19. v. 229.; lib. 24. v. 48.
[s] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 4. v. 100.
[t] Ovid. Faſt. lib. 2. ver. 37. Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 664.
[u] Plut. in Theſ. p. 4. Num. Veter.
[x] Plut. in Theſ. p. 4. Numiſm. Veter.
[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 15. Id. Odyſſ. lib 3. v. 34.; lib. 5. v. 208.; lib. 8. v. 544.

ticipated every wiſh of their gueſt [z]. Not to their legiſlators were the Greeks indebted for this ſublime inſtitution; they owed it to Nature, whoſe vivid and penetrating light filled the heart of man, and is not yet entirely extinct, ſince our firſt moral ſenſation is an emotion of eſteem and confidence for our fellow-creatures, and ſince diſtruſt would be conſidered as an enormous vice, did not the experience of repeated perfidy render it almoſt a virtue.

Yet theſe ages, though rendered illuſtrious by actions which do honour to humanity, were alſo ſullied by the moſt atrocious and unheard of crimes. Some of theſe have no doubt really been committed; they were the fruits of ambition and vengeance, ungovernable paſſions, which, according to the difference of times and circumſtances, employed to attain their ends ſometimes the artifices of cunning, and ſometimes open force. The reſt owe their origin only to poetry, which, in its paintings, diſguiſes the events of hiſtory as it does the operations of Nature. The poets, maſters of our hearts and ſlaves of their own imagination, have brought on the ſtage the principal heroes of antiquity, and, from a few facts which have eſcaped the deſtruction of time, have pourtrayed characters which they vary or contraſt at pleaſure [a]. Sometimes, depicting them in hideous colours, they transform frailties into crimes, and crimes into atrocious enormities. We deteſt that Medea, whom Jaſon brought from Colchis, and whoſe whole life, it is ſaid, was one continued ſcene of horrors; yet was ſhe perhaps acquainted with no other magic than her charms, and guilty of no other crime than love [b]. Perhaps, likewiſe, the greater part of thoſe princes, whoſe memory is at preſent covered with opprobrium, were not more culpable than Medea. Thoſe remote ages were not the reign of barbariſm, but rather of a certain violence of character, which,

[z] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 173. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 1. v. 124.; lib. 3. v. 70.

[a] Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 320.

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 249. Parmeniſc. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Med. v. 9. et 273. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 21. Banier, Mythol. liv. 3. chap. 5. t. iii. p. 259.

by acting without diſguiſe, frequently defeated itſelf. Yet was it at leaſt poſſible to guard againſt the hatred which manifeſted itſelf by rage; but how much more difficult is it at preſent to defend ourſelves againſt thoſe deliberate cruelties and cool hatreds, which patiently wait the moment of revenge! The age really barbarous is not that in which there is moſt impetuoſity of paſſion, but that which moſt abounds in duplicity of ſentiment.

Neither rank nor ſex afforded exemptions from domeſtic cares, which ceaſe to be humiliating when they are common to all conditions. Sometimes they were aſſociated with agreeable talents, ſuch as muſic and dancing; and ſtill more frequently with tumultuous pleaſures, as the chaſe, and exerciſes which conduce to preſerve and increaſe bodily ſtrength.

The laws were few in number and very ſimple, for it was leſs requiſite to provide for caſes of injuſtice than of inſult; and more neceſſary to curb the paſſions in their impetuoſity, than to purſue vice through all its mazes.

The great truths of morality, firſt diſcovered by that admirable inſtinct which prompts man to good, were ſoon rendered evident by their manifeſt utility in practice. The motives and recompence then held forth for virtue were not ſo much the conſcious ſatisfaction of the mind, as the favour of the gods, the public eſteem, and the opinion of poſterity [c]. Reaſon had not yet turned inwardly on herſelf to examine the nature of moral duties, and ſubject them to that analyſis, which ſometimes tends to confirm, and ſometimes to overthrow them. It was only generally admitted, that in all the occurrences of life, it is advantageous to render to every man his due; and obeying this anſwer of the heart, honeſt men reſigned themſelves to the dictates of virtue, without regretting any of the ſacrifices it requires.

Knowledge was of two kinds: that tradition of which the poets were the interpreters, and the experience acquired by

[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 119. Id. Odyſſ. lib. 2. v. 64.

the aged. Tradition preſerved ſome traces of the hiſtory of the gods, and of that of men. Hence, the reſpect paid to poets, who were employed to recount theſe intereſting events at banquets, and on all ſolemn occaſions; to adorn them with the charms of muſic, and to embelliſh them by fictions which flattered the vanity of nations and of ſovereigns [d].

The wiſdom of the old men ſupplied the tardy experience of ages [e], and by reducing examples into principles, made known the effects of the paſſions, and the means of bringing them under controul. Hence originated that eſteem for age, which aſſigned it the firſt rank in the aſſemblies of the nation, and ſcarcely granted youth the permiſſion to interrogate it [f].

The extreme vivacity of the paſſions gave an ineſtimable value to prudence, as did the neceſſity of inſtruction to the talent of eloquence.

Of all the powers of the mind, imagination was firſt cultivated, becauſe this is the quality which manifeſts itſelf earlieſt in the infancy of men and nations; and it was more eſpecially nurtured and expanded among the Greeks, from the climate they inhabited, and the connections they contracted with the people of the Eaſt.

In Egypt, where the ſun perpetually darts his burning rays, where the winds, the inundations of the Nile, and other phænomena, are ſubject to a conſtant order, where the ſtability and uniformity of Nature ſeem to evince its eternity, every object was aggrandized by the imagination, which expanding itſelf on all ſides into infinity, neceſſarily inſpired aſtoniſhment and awe.

In Greece, where the ſky, ſometimes troubled by ſtorms, almoſt inceſſantly ſparkles with a pure light; where the diverſity of aſpects and ſeaſons continually preſents the eye

[d] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 1. v. 152. et 338.
[e] Hom. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 259.; lib. 3. v. 108.; lib. 9. v. 60.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 23. v. 587. Id, Odyſſ lib. 3. v. 24.

with ſtriking contraſts; where Nature at every ſtep, at every inſtant, appears in action, and inceſſantly diverſe from herſelf, the imagination, richer and more active than in Egypt, beſtowed new embelliſhments on every object, and diffuſed a mild and genial warmth through all the operations of the mind.

Thus the Greeks, forſaking their foreſts, no longer beheld objects under a terrific and gloomy veil; and thus the Egyptians, tranſplanted into Greece, gradually ſoftened the ſevere and gigantic outlines of their pictures. Intermingling with each other, and conſtituting but one and the ſame people, they formed a language brilliant in figurative expreſſions; they exhibited their ancient opinions in colours which diminiſhed their ſimplicity, but rendered them more captivating; and as all beings capable of motion ſeemed to them full of life, and they referred to partial cauſes the phænomena to the nature of which they were ſtrangers, the univerſe in their eyes was a magnificent machine, the ſprings of which were acted on at will by an infinite number of inviſible agents.

This was the origin of that philoſophy, or rather that religion, which ſtill ſubſiſts among the people; a confuſed mixture of truths and falſehoods; of venerable traditions and pleaſing fictions; a ſyſtem that flatters the ſenſes, and offends the underſtanding; which breathes only pleaſure, while it teaches and applauds virtue; and of which it may be proper to trace a ſlight ſketch, as it ſtrongly marks the character of the age that gave it birth.

What is that power which has called forth the univerſe from chaos? The infinite Being, the pure light, the ſource of life [g]. Let us give it the moſt amiable of its titles; it is love itſelf; that love whoſe preſence reſtores harmony to all things [h], and from whom both men and gods derive their origin [i].

[g] Orph. ap. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 390.

[h] Heſiod. Theog. v. 120.

[i] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 700.

These intelligent beings disputed the empire of the world; but, cast to the earth in tremendous combats, men were for ever subjected to their victors.

The race of immortals multiplied like that of men. Saturn, issuing from the commerce between heaven and earth, had three sons, who divided the sovereignty of the universe: Jupiter reigns in heaven, Neptune over the sea, Pluto in the infernal regions, and all three over the earth [k]; all three are environed with a multitude of deities, intrusted with the execution of their commands.

Jupiter is the most potent of the gods, for he launches the thunder: his court is the most spendid of all; it is the residence of eternal light; and must be the abode of happiness, since every earthly good proceeds from heaven.

The divinities of the ocean and of the infernal shades are implored in certain places and under certain circumstances; the celestial gods every where, and at every moment of life. They surpass the others in power, for they dwell above us; whilst the former are either beside us, or beneath our feet.

The gods dispense to men life, health, riches, wisdom, and valour [l]. We accuse them as the authors of our sufferings [m]; they reproach us with being wretched from our own faults [n]. Pluto is odious to mortals [o], because he is inflexible. The other gods permit themselves to be moved by our prayers, and especially by our sacrifices, the odour of which is to them a delicious perfume [p].

If they have senses like ourselves, they must have the same passions. Beauty makes on them the same impression as on us. We have often seen them seeking on earth for pleasures, rendered more poignant from their forgetting for a time their exalted nature, and assuming the veil of mystery.

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[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 15. v. 193.
[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 197.; lib. 7. v. 288.; lib. 13. v. 730.
[m] Id. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 164.; lib. 6. v. 349.
[n] Id. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 33.
[o] Id. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 158.
[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 48.; lib. 24. v. 425.

By this peculiar combination of ideas, the Greeks had no intention to degrade the divinity. Accuſtomed as they were to judge of all animated beings by themſelves, they aſcribed their weakneſſes to the gods, and their ſentiments to animals, without imagining that they debaſed the former or elevated the latter.

When they wiſhed to form an idea of the happineſs of heaven, and the attention paid by the immortals to the government of the univerſe, they caſt their eyes around them, and ſaid:

On earth, nations are happy when they paſs their days in feſtivals; a ſovereign, when he aſſembles at his table the princes and princeſſes who reign over the adjacent countries; when youthful ſlaves, perfumed with eſſences, pour out wine in overflowing goblets, and ſkilful fingers harmoniouſly accord their voices with the lyre [q]: thus, in the frequent banquets of the inhabitants of heaven, youth and beauty, in the perſon of Hebe, diſtribute nectar and ambroſia; the vaulted roofs of Olympus re-echo with the ſongs of Apollo and the muſes, and joy ſparkles in every eye.

Sometimes Jupiter aſſembles the immortals around his throne, and deliberates with them on the affairs of earth, as a ſovereign diſcuſſes thoſe of his ſtates with the nobles of his kingdom. The gods deliver their different opinions, which they ſupport with warmth, till Jupiter pronounces his final deciſion, and the reſt ſubmit in ſilence.

The gods inveſted with his authority communicate motion to the univerſe, and are the authors of the phænomena which aſtoniſh mortals.

Every morning a youthful goddeſs opens the gates of the Eaſt, and diffuſes a refreſhing coolneſs through the air, while ſhe ſcatters flowers over the fields, and ſtrews rubies in the path of the ſun. At this ſignal, the earth awakes, and pre-

[q] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 1. v. 152; lib. 9. v. 5. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 3. t. ii. p. 451.

pares to receive the god, who daily beſtows on her new life: he appears with a magnificence and ſplendour ſuited to the ſovereign of the ſkies; his car, conducted by the hours, flies and penetrates the immenſity of ſpace, filling it with radiance and genial warmth. No ſooner does he reach the palace of the ſovereign of the ſeas, than night, who cloſely and inceſſantly follows him, extends her gloomy veil, and hangs the celeſtial dome with innumerable fires. Then riſes another car, whoſe mild and conſoling light invites ſuſceptible hearts to meditation. It is conducted by a goddeſs. She is coming in ſilence to receive the tender homage of Endymion. That arch which ſhines with ſuch rich colours, and extends from one ſide of the horizon to the other, is formed by the luminous footſteps of Iris, who is bearing the commands of Juno to the earth. Delightful breezes and horrid tempeſts are cauſed by genii, now ſporting in the air, now ſtruggling with each other to produce a commotion in the waves. At the foot of yon eminence is a grotto, the aſylum of coolneſs and of peace. There a beneficent nymph pours forth from her inexhauſtible urn the ſtream that fertilizes the adjacent plain; there ſhe liſtens to the vows of the youthful beauty, who comes to contemplate her charms in the fleeting waters. If we enter that gloomy wood, it is neither the ſilence nor the ſolitude that occupies the mind: we are in the haunts of the druids and the ſylvans, and the ſecret awe we feel is the effect of the divine majeſty.

To whatever ſide we turn our ſteps, we are in the preſence of the gods; we diſcover them within us and without; they have divided the empire of our ſouls, and direct our inclinations: ſome preſide over war and the arts of peace; others inſpire the love of wiſdom or of pleaſure; all of them cheriſh juſtice and protect virtue: thirty thouſand divinities, diſperſed around us, continually watch over our thoughts and actions [r]. When we act juſtly, heaven prolongs our days and

[r] Heſiod. Oper. v. 250.

increaſes our happineſs, but puniſhes us when we do evil[s]. On the commiſſion of crimes, Nemeſis and the black furies iſſue, with horrid roarings, from the depths of hell; and gliding into the heart of the guilty mortal, torment him day and night by piercing and funereal ſhrieks. Theſe ſhrieks are the remorſe of conſcience[t]. If the wicked man, before his death, neglects to appeaſe the avenging powers by holy ceremonies, the furies, adhering to his ſoul as to their prey, drag it into the gulphs of Tartarus. For the Greeks univerſally believed the immortality of the ſoul. The following was their doctrine, derived from the Egyptians, concerning that ſubſtance of which we know ſo little.

The ſpiritual ſoul, that is, the mind or intellectual faculty, is enveloped in a ſenſitive ſoul, which is no other than a luminous and ſubtle matter, the faithful image of the body, on which it is moulded, and whoſe reſemblance and dimenſions it for ever continues to retain. Theſe two ſouls are ſtrictly united during life, but are ſeparated by death[u]; and whilſt the ſpiritual ſoul aſcends to heaven, the other takes its flight, under the conduct of Mercury, to the extremities of the earth, where are the infernal regions, the throne of Pluto, and the tribunal of Minos. Abandoned by the whole world, and with nothing on which to rely for ſupport but its good actions, the ſoul appears before this dread tribunal, hears its ſentence, and is admitted to the Elyſian fields, or plunged in Tartarus.

The Greeks, who had founded the happineſs of their gods only on ſenſual enjoyments, were unable to imagine any other delights for the Elyſian fields but a delicious temperature, and a profound but uniform tranquillity: feeble advantages, which did not prevent virtuous ſouls from ſighing for the light of day, and regretting their paſſions and their pleaſures.

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[s] Hom. Odyſſ. lib. 13. v. 214.

[t] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. c. 14. t. iii. p. 127.

[u] Hom. Odyſſ. l. 11. v. 217. Notes of Madame Dacier, on the 10th and 11th books of the Odyſſey.

Tartarus is the abode of lamentation and deſpair; the guilty are there conſigned to dreadful torments; their entrails are gnawed by cruel vultures, they are whirled round upon the axes of burning wheels. There Tantalus every moment expires with hunger and with thirſt, in the midſt of a refreſhing ſtream, and beneath trees laden with fruit: there the daughters of Danaus are condemned to fill a veſſel, from which the water is continually eſcaping; and Siſyphus to fix upon the ſummit of a mountain a rock he labours to roll up, and which immediately falls back of itſelf when he is on the point of accompliſhing his taſk. Inſupportable wants, ever aggravated by the preſence of the objects fitted to gratify them; labours perpetually the ſame, and eternally unſucceſsful. What puniſhments! The imagination that invented them had exhauſted the utmoſt refinements of cruelty to provide chaſtiſements for guilt; whilſt it offered no other recompence to virtue but an imperfect felicity, and that too poiſoned by regret. Was it believed more ſalutary to guide men by the fear of puniſhments than by the allurements of pleaſure; or rather, was it eaſier to multiply the images of miſery than thoſe of happineſs?

This rude ſyſtem of religion taught a ſmall number of dogmas eſſential to the tranquillity of ſociety; the exiſtence of the gods, the immortality of the ſoul, rewards for virtue, puniſhments for vice: it preſcribed ceremonies which might contribute to maintain theſe truths, in its feſtivals and myſteries; it preſented civil government with powerful means by which to turn to advantage the ignorance and credulity of the people, in its oracles, and the ſcience of augury and divination; it left every man, in fine, at liberty to adopt the ancient traditions which he thought proper, and inceſſantly to load with new inventions the hiſtory and genealogy of the gods; ſo that the imagination, free to create facts, and to vary by prodigies thoſe which were already known, never ceaſed to embelliſh its details by the marvellous, that orna-

ment ſo frigid in the eye of reaſon, but ſo full of charms for youthful minds and infant nations. The narratives of the traveller to his admiring hoſts, of the father of a family to his liſtening children, of the bard admitted to the entertainments of princes, were wrought up in the intrigue, and conducted to the cataſtrophe by the intervention of the gods; and the ſyſtem of religion inſenſibly became the ſyſtem of poetry and fiction.

At the ſame time, the erroneous ideas which prevailed reſpecting natural philoſophy, enriched language with a multitude of images. The habit of confounding motion with life, and life with ſentiment; the facility of connecting certain relations ſubſiſting between objects, made men in converſation attribute to the moſt inſenſible beings, a ſoul, or properties wholly foreign from their nature: the ſword was ſaid to thirſt after the blood of the enemy; the dart to fly impatient to deſtroy. Wings were aſcribed to every thing that cleaves the air, to lightning, to the winds, to arrows, to the ſound of the voice; Aurora had roſy fingers, the ſun golden treſſes, and Thetis ſilver feet. Such metaphors were admired, eſpecially for their novelty; and the language of Greece, like that of all nations in their infancy, became poetical.

Such was nearly the progreſs of the human mind among the Greeks, when Codrus ſacrificed his life for the ſafety of his country [x]. The Athenians, ſtruck with this magnanimous action, aboliſhed the regal title; they affirmed that Codrus had raiſed it ſo high, that it muſt be henceforth beyond the deſert of mortals: they adopted Jupiter, therefore, for their ſovereign [y]; and placing Medon, the ſon of Codrus, by the ſide of the throne, they named him archon, or perpetual chief *, requiring him nevertheleſs to render an account of his adminiſtration to the people [z].

[x] Meurſ. de Regib. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 11.

[y] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 2.

* The year 1092 before Chriſt.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 292.

The brother of this prince had oppoſed his election [a]; but on ſeeing it confirmed by the oracle, rather than cheriſh a principle of inteſtine diviſions in their country, they abandoned it to ſeek a happier fortune in diſtant lands.

Attica and the countries which ſurround it were at this time overſtocked with inhabitants: the conqueſts of the Heraclidæ had occaſioned a reflux into this part of Greece of the whole nation of the Ionians, who formerly occupied twelve cities in Peloponneſus [b]. Theſe foreigners, become a burden to the places that ſerved them as an aſylum, and ſtill too contiguous to thoſe they had quitted, wiſhed for a change which ſhould make them forget their misfortunes. The ſons of Codrus pointed out to them, beyond the ſeas, thoſe rich plains in the extremity of Aſia, oppoſite to Europe, part of which was already occupied by thoſe Æolians whom the Heraclidæ had formerly driven out of Peloponneſus [c]. On the confines of Æolia was a fertile country, ſituated in a delightful climate, and inhabited by barbarians, whom the Greeks began to deſpiſe. The ſons of Codrus, propoſing this as the object of their expedition, were followed by a great number of adventurers of all ages and countries [d]: the barbarians made but a feeble reſiſtance; and the colony ſoon found itſelf in poſſeſſion of as many cities as it had held in Peloponneſus; and theſe cities, among which Miletus and Epheſus were conſpicuous, by their union compoſed the Ionic body [e].

Medon tranſmitted to his deſcendants the dignity of archon; but as that office began to give ſome umbrage to the Athenians, they at length limited its duration to ten years*; and their alarms increaſing with their precautions, they finally

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[a] Pauſan. l. 7. c. 2. p. 523. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 5. Velleius Paterc. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[b] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 145. Strab. lib. 8. p. 383.

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 149. Strab. lib. 13. p. 582.

[d] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 2. p. 524.

[e] Herod. lib. 1. cap. 142. Strab. lib. 14. p. 633. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 5.

* The year 752 before Chriſt.

divided it among nine annual magiſtrates*, who ſtill bear the title of archons [f].

Theſe are all the changes which the hiſtory of Athens preſents us, from the death of Codrus to the firſt Olympiad, during a period of three hundred and ſixteen years. Theſe ages, from all appearances, were ages of happineſs; for the calamities of nations are never eraſed from their traditions. We cannot inſiſt too ſtrongly on a reflection ſo afflicting for humanity. In this long interval of peace, Attica undoubtedly produced noble and generous men, devoted to the welfare of their country, and ſages who, by ſuperiority of underſtanding, maintained harmony in all the orders of the ſtate: they are forgotten, for they had only virtues. Had torrents of blood and tears flowed at their command, their names would have triumphed over time; and, in default of hiſtorians, the monuments conſecrated to their memory would ſtill ſpeak for them in the midſt of the public places. Muſt we then deſtroy men to merit altars!

Whilſt Attica enjoyed this ſtate of tranquillity, the other nations of Greece were diſturbed only by ſlight and momentary concuſſions: ages glided on in ſilence, or rather were filled by three of the greateſt men who ever have exiſted; Homer, Lycurgus, and Ariſtomenus. We become acquainted with the two latter at Lacedæmon and in Meſſenia; but every age and place has reſounded with the fame of Homer.

Homer flouriſhed about four centuries after the Trojan war †. In his time, poetry was greatly cultivated among the Greeks: the ſource of thoſe fictions, which conſtitute its eſſence or its ornament, became every day more copious; language ſparkled with imagery, and by its irregularity was better adapted to the wiſhes of the poet ‡. Two remarkable events, the Theban and the Trojan war, furniſhed genius with noble ſubjects. Bards, with their lyres in hand, every

* The year 684 before Chriſt.

[f] Meurſ. de Archont. lib. 1. cap. 1. &c. Corſin. Faſt. Att. diſſert. 1.

† Towards the year 900 before Chriſt.

‡ See note at the end of the volume.

where ſang to the admiring Greeks the exploits of their ancient warriors.

Orpheus, Linus, Muſæus, and a number of other poets[g], whoſe works are loſt, a circumſtance to which they are perhaps indebted for a great ſhare of their celebrity, had already made their appearance: already that Heſiod, who is ſaid to have rivalled Homer, had entered the career, and in a ſoft and harmonious ſtyle[h] ſung the genealogy of the gods, the labours of the country, and other ſubjects rendered intereſting by his genius.

Homer, therefore, found an art, which for ſome time had been in its infancy, and the progreſs of which was daily quickened by emulation. He took it at this period, and carried it to ſuch a height that he appeared its creator.

He is ſaid to have ſung the war of Thebes[i]: he compoſed ſeveral works which would have given him an equality to the firſt poets of his time; but the Iliad and Odyſſey place him above all before or after him.

In the former of theſe poems he has deſcribed ſome events of the Trojan war; and in the ſecond, the return of Ulyſſes to his country.

During the ſiege of Troy, an event had occurred which had fixed the attention of Homer. Achilles, inſulted by Agamemnon, withdrew to his camp: his abſence enfeebled the Grecian army, and reanimated the courage of the Trojans, who, ſallying from their walls, attacked their enemies, and were almoſt always victors in frequent combats: already were they ſpreading flames amid the ſhips of the Greeks, when Patroclus appeared, clad in the armour of Achilles. Hector attacks him, and he falls; Achilles, who had remained inflexible to all the entreaties of the chiefs of the army, flies again to the field, avenges the death of Patroclus by that

g Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i.

h Dionyſ. Halicar. de Compoſ. Verb. ſect. 23. t. v. p. 173. Id. de Vet. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 419. Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 629.

i Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 32. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 729.

of the Trojan general; gives order for the funeral obſequies of his friend, and for a ranſom reſtores to the unhappy Priam the body of his ſon Hector.

Theſe events, happening in the ſpace of a very few days [k], were the conſequence of the anger of Achilles againſt Agamemnon, and formed, in the hiſtory of the ſiege, an epiſode, which might eaſily be detached, and which Homer choſe for the ſubject of his Iliad. In treating it, he has obſerved the hiſtorical order; but, to give greater luſtre to his ſubject, has imagined, according to the received ſyſtem of the age, that from the beginning of the war the gods had been divided between the Greeks and Trojans, and, to render his poem more intereſting, has introduced all his characters in action: an artifice perhaps unknown before his time, which has given birth to the drama [l], and which he again employed in the Odyſſey with the ſame ſucceſs.

More art and knowledge are diſplayed in the latter poem. Ten years had elapſed ſince Ulyſſes had left the ſhores of Ilium. Unjuſt plunderers were diſſipating his property; they were endeavouring to compel his diſconſolate wife to contract a ſecond marriage, and to fix a choice it was no longer in her power to defer. At this moment the ſcene of the Odyſſey opens. Telemachus, the ſon of Ulyſſes, repairs to the continent of Greece, to interrogate Neſtor and Menelaus reſpecting the fate of his father. Whilſt he is at Lacedæmon, Ulyſſes departs from the iſland of Calypſo, and, after a perilous voyage, is caſt away in a tempeſt on the iſle of the Phæacians, contiguous to Ithaca. In an age when commerce had not yet formed connections between different countries, the inhabitants thronged round a ſtranger, to hear the narrative of his adventures. Ulyſſes, preſſed to ſatisfy a court in which ignorance and a taſte for the marvellous were exceſſive, recounts the prodigies he has beheld, moves their pity by the

k Du Poeme Epique, par Boſſu, liv. ii. p. 269.

l Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152. Id. de Repub. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 598 et 607. Ariſt. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655.

recital of his ſufferings, and obtains ſuccours to return into his dominions. He arrives, diſcovers himſelf to his ſon, and concerts with him efficacious meaſures to revenge themſelves of their common enemies.

The action of the Odyſſey laſts but forty days [m]; but, by means of the plan he has adopted, Homer has found the ſecret of deſcribing all the circumſtances of the return of Ulyſſes; of relating many particulars of the ſiege of Troy; and diſplaying the knowledge he had himſelf acquired in his travels. He appears to have compoſed this work in an advanced age; ſome have imagined they diſcovered this in the multiplicity of his narrations, as alſo in the mild and tranquil character of the principal perſonages, and a certain gentle warmth reſembling that of the ſetting ſun [n].

Though it was certainly the object of Homer to pleaſe more eſpecially the age in which he lived, the moral of the Iliad clearly is, that nations are always ſacrificed to the diviſions of their leaders; and that of the Odyſſey, that prudence, united with courage, triumphs, ſooner or later, over the greateſt obſtacles.

The Iliad and Odyſſey were ſcarcely known in Greece, when Lycurgus appeared in Ionia [o]; the genius of the poet ſpoke inſtantly to the genius of the legiſlator. Lycurgus diſcovered leſſons of wiſdom, where ordinary men ſaw nothing but pleaſing fictions [p]. He copied the two poems, and with them enriched his country; from whence they were communicated to all the Greeks. Actors appeared, known by the name of rhapſodiſts [q], who detached ſelected paſſages from them, and travelled over Greece, delighted to hear them repeat their parts. One ſang the valour of Diomede; another the farewell of Andromache; and others the death of Patroclus and of Hector [r].

[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, t. ii. p. 389.
[n] Longin. de Subl. cap. 9.
[o] Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.
[p] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 41.
[q] Schol. Pind. in Nem. od. 2. v. 1.
[r] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. cap. 14. Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.

The reputation of Homer ſeemed to increaſe with the diviſion and diſtribution of his verſes; but the texture of his poems was inſenſibly deſtroyed; and as their parts, from being too much ſeparated, were in danger of loſing their connection with the whole, Solon prohibited ſeveral rhapſodiſts, when aſſembled, from taking at hazard detached paſſages from the writings of Homer, ordaining, that in their recitals they ſhould follow the order obſerved by the author, ſo that one ſhould take up the ſubject where the other finiſhed [s].

This regulation provided againſt one danger, but ſuffered another of ſtill greater conſequence to ſubſiſt. The poems of Homer, abandoned to the enthuſiaſm and ignorance of thoſe by whom they were publicly ſung or commented on, daily underwent new corruptions in the recital; they ſuffered conſiderable loſſes, and were loaded with interpolations. Piſiſtratus, and his ſon Hipparchus [t], undertook to reſtore the text to its original purity; they conſulted ſkilful grammarians, offered rewards to every perſon who ſhould produce any authentic fragment of the Iliad and Odyſſey, and after a long and arduous labour, gave complete copies of theſe two noble poems to the admiring Greeks, equally aſtoniſhed at the ingenuity of their plans, and the beauties of their execution. Hipparchus likewiſe ordered that the verſes of Homer ſhould be ſung at the feſtival of the Panathenæa, in the order preſcribed by the law of Solon [u].

Poſterity, which cannot eſtimate the glory of kings and heroes by their actions, hears, as it were, from far the reſounding fame of their immortal deeds, and re-echoes it to following times. But the reputation of an author, whoſe writings ſtill ſubſiſt, muſt be the reſult of the ſucceſſive judgments which conſecutive ages have pronounced in his favour. The glory of Homer, it is to be remembered, has increaſed in pro-

[s] Laert. in Solon. lib. 1. § 57.

[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 312. Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 26. p. 594. Meurſ. in Piſiſtrat. cap. 9. et 12. Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.

[u] Plat. in Hipparc. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 2. not. Periz. ibid. Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 161.

portion as his works have become better known, and his readers more capable of appreciating their real worth. The Greeks have never been ſo learned and polite as they are at this day, and never were they impreſſed with ſo profound an admiration for that poet. His name is in every mouth, and his portrait before every eye; ſeveral cities diſpute the honour of having given him birth [x]; others have dedicated temples to him [y]: the Argives, who invoke him in their holy ceremonies, ſend an annual ſacrifice into the iſle of Chios in his honour [z]. His verſes reſound through all Greece, and are the brighteſt ornament of her ſplendid feſtivals. In them youth finds its firſt inſtructions [a]: from them Æſchylus [b], Sophocles [c], Archilochus, Herodotus, Demoſthenes [d], Plato [e], and the moſt eſteemed authors, have drawn the greater part of the beauties that abound in their writings; and by them the ſculptor Phidias [f], and the painter Euphranor [g], were taught worthily to repreſent the awful majeſty of the ſovereign of the gods. How wondrous then is this man, who inſtructs legiſlators in the ſcience of politics; who teaches philoſophers and hiſtorians the art of writing, and poets and orators that of moving the paſſions; who diſcloſes and expands every talent [h], and whoſe ſuperiority is ſo univerſally acknowledged, that we are no more jealous of his pre-eminence, than of the ſun by which we are enlightened!

I am aware that Homer muſt more eſpecially intereſt his own nation. The principal houſes of Greece think they diſcover in his works the titles of their origin; and the different ſtates, the epocha of their greatneſs. Frequently his teſti-

[x] Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 11. Strab. lib. 14. p. 645. Pauſan. lib. 10. c. 24.
[y] Strab. lib. 14. p. 646.
[z] Certam. Homer. et Heſiod.
[a] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 145. Id. in lib. 2. p. 263.
[b] Athen. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 347.
[c] Valken. Diatr. in Eurip. Hippol. p. 92.
[d] Longin. de Subl. c. 13. Dionyſ. Hallicar. Epiſt. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 772.
[e] Panæt. ap. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 32. t. ii. p. 260.
[f] Strab. lib. 8. p. 354. Plut. in Æmil. t. i. p. 270. Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 7. extern. No. 4.
[g] Euſtath. ad Iliad. lib. 1. p. 145.
[h] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. t. v. cap. 16. p. 97. Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 187. Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 628.

mony has even ſufficed to determine the ancient limits of two neighbouring nations [i]. But this merit, which he might poſſeſs in common with many authors now conſigned to oblivion, never could produce the enthuſiaſm excited by his poems; many other ſprings muſt have operated to obtain him among the Greeks the empire of the mind.

I am but a Scythian; and the harmony of Homer's verſes, that harmony which tranſports the enraptured Greeks, frequently eſcapes my unpoliſhed organs: but I am no longer maſter of my admiration, when I ſee this lofty genius, hovering, if I may ſo ſpeak, over the univerſe; darting on every ſide his ardent glances, and collecting thoſe flames and colours with which all objects ſparkle in his ſight; entering the council of the gods; fathoming the receſſes of the human heart; and quickly, rich with his diſcoveries, intoxicated with the beauties of nature, and, no longer able to ſupport the ardour that conſumes him, diſtributing it with profuſion in his deſcriptions and expreſſions, making heaven contend with earth, and the paſſions ſtrive for maſtery with each other; dazzling us by thoſe ſtrokes of light which appertain only to ſuperior talents; hurrying us away by thoſe ſallies of ſentiment that conſtitute the true ſublime, and ever leaving a profound impreſſion which ſeems to expand and ennoble the ſoul. For what above all diſtinguiſhes Homer, is the power of animating every thing [k], and of perpetually communicating to us the emotions with which he is himſelf agitated; it is the ſkill with which he renders every other ſubordinate to the leading paſſion; following it through all its tranſports, its extravagancies, and incongruities; elevating it to the clouds, and again precipitating it, when neceſſary, from its height, by the force of ſentiment and virtue, as the flames of Ætna are daſhed by the wind to the bottom of the abyſs: it is the felicity with which he has ſeized great characters, the ſkill with which

[i] Euſtath. in Homer. t. 2. p. 263.

[k] Ariſt. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 595.

he has diverſified the power, the bravery, and other qualities of his perſonages, not by cold and faſtidious deſcriptions, but by rapid and vigorous ſtrokes of pencil, or by novel fictions ſcattered as it were fortuitouſly through his works. I mount with him into the heavens: I diſcover Venus in all her beauty by that girdle inceſſantly emitting the fires of love, impatient deſire, ſeductive graces, and the inexpreſſible charms of language and the eyes [l]; I recognize Pallas and her furies, by that ægis on which are ſuſpended terror, diſcord, violence, and the tremendous head of the horrid gorgon [m]. Jupiter and Neptune are the moſt powerful of the gods; but Neptune muſt have a trident to ſhake the earth [n]; and Jupiter his nod to make Olympus tremble [o]. I deſcend to earth: Achilles, Ajax, and Diomedes, are the moſt formidable of the Greeks; but Diomedes retires at the ſight of the Trojan army [p]; Ajax does not give way till he has ſeveral times repulſed it [q]; Achilles ſhows himſelf, and it diſappears [r].

Theſe differences are not contraſted in the ſacred books of the Greeks, for ſo the Iliad and Odyſſey may be termed. The poet had given a ſolid baſis to his models; he detached at pleaſure thoſe diſcriminating ſhades, and had them preſent before his mind, at the very inſtant he was beſtowing on his characters ſome momentary variations: for, in fact, art alone attributes a conſtant unity to characters; nature produces none which do not occaſionally differ from themſelves in the various occurrences of life.

Plato did not find ſufficient dignity in the grief of Achilles, nor in that of Priam, when the former rolls himſelf in the duſt after the death of Patroclus, and when the latter has recourſe to a humiliating action to obtain the dead body of his ſon [s]. But how ſtrange is that dignity which ſtifles the feelings of nature! For my part, I commend Homer for having,

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 14. v. 215.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 5. v. 738.
[n] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 4. v. 506.
[o] Iliad. lib. 1. v. 530.
[p] Iliad. lib. 5. v. 605.
[q] Iliad. lib. 11. v. 565.
[r] Iliad. lib. 18. v. 228.
[s] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 388.

like nature, placed weakneſs by the ſide of ſtrength, and the abyſs by the ſide of elevation; I commend him ſtill more for having ſhown me the beſt of fathers in the moſt powerful of kings, and the tendereſt of friends in the moſt impetuous of heroes.

I have known the poet blamed for the inſolent and abuſive language which he puts into the mouth of his heroes, both in their aſſemblies and in the heat of battle: I then caſt my eyes on children who approach much nearer to nature than ourſelves, on the vulgar always in a ſtate of childhood, on ſavages who are always the vulgar; and have obſerved in all theſe, that their anger conſtantly expreſſes itſelf in inſolence and outrage, previous to producing any other effect.

I have heard Homer cenſured for having painted in all their ſimplicity the manners of the times that preceded him; I ſmiled at the criticiſm, and was ſilent.

But when it is alleged againſt him as a crime, that he has degraded the gods, I content myſelf with relating the anſwer made me one day by an intelligent Athenian. Homer, ſaid he, aſcribed to the gods the infirmities of men, according to the poetical ſyſtem of his time [t]. Ariſtophanes has ſince exhibited them on our theatre [u], and our fathers applauded that licence: the moſt ancient theologians have ſaid that men and gods had one common origin [x], and almoſt in our own days Pindar has held the ſame language [y]. It was never imagined, then, that theſe gods could be ſubſtitutes for the idea we entertain of the Divinity; and in fact genuine philoſophy admits a Supreme Being ſuperior to them, who has delegated to them his power. It is that Being whom men of underſtanding adore in ſecret: the multitude addreſs their prayers, and ſometimes their complaints to thoſe who repreſent him; and poets in general are like the ſubjects of the king of Perſia,

[t] Ariſt. de Poet. c. 25. t. ii. p. 673.
[u] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 617.; in Plut. v. 1120.; in Ran. &c.
[x] Heſiod. Theogon. v. 126, &c. Vide etiam Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 700.
[y] Pind. in Nem. od. 6. v. 1. Schol. ibid.

who proſtrate themſelves before the ſovereign, and inveigh againſt his miniſters.

Let thoſe who are unmoved by the beauties of Homer dwell on his defects. For why diſſemble the truth? He frequently repoſes, and ſometimes ſlumbers; but his is the repoſe of the eagle, who, after viſiting his vaſt domains of air, drops, oppreſſed with fatigue, upon a lofty mountain; and his ſlumber reſembles that of Jupiter, who, according to Homer himſelf, hurls his thunder when he awakes [z].

Whoever ſhall judge of Homer not by frigid reaſonings, but by his feelings, not by rules too often arbitrary, but according to the immutable laws of nature, will undoubtedly be convinced, that he merits all the honours laviſhed on him by the Greeks, and that his works are the greateſt ornament of the ages whoſe hiſtory I have been abridging.

SECOND PART.

IT is not until about one hundred and fifty years after the firſt Olympiad, that the hiſtory of the Athenians, properly ſpeaking, begins. It therefore compriſes only three hundred years, if brought down to the preſent time; and about two hundred and twenty, if concluded at the taking of Athens. In this ſeries of years, it is eaſy to diſcover certain important intervals, which mark the riſe, progreſs, and decline of their empire. If I may be allowed to diſtinguiſh theſe æras by characteriſtic names, I ſhall call the firſt the age of Solon, or of the laws; the ſecond the age of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, or the age of glory; the third that of Pericles, or the age of luxury and the arts.

[z] Iliad. lib. 15. v. 377.

SECT. I.

THE AGE OF SOLON *.

THE form of government eſtabliſhed by Theſeus had undergone material alterations: the people ſtill poſſeſſed the right of aſſembling; but the ſovereign power reſided in the hands of the wealthy [a]. The republic was governed by nine archons or annual magiſtrates [b], who did not enjoy their power long enough to abuſe it; and who, in fact, had not ſufficient authority to maintain the tranquillity of the ſtate.

The inhabitants of Attica were ſeparated into three factions, each of which had at its head one of the moſt ancient families of Athens. Divided as they all were by intereſt, diverſity of character, and ſituation, it was impoſſible for them to agree in the choice of a form of government. The pooreſt and moſt independent, confined to the adjacent mountains, favoured a democracy; the wealthieſt, diſperſed over the plain, wiſhed for an oligarchy; while the inhabitants of the coaſts, engaged in maritime and commercial affairs, were for a mixed government, which might ſecure their poſſeſſions, without proving injurious to public liberty [c].

To this ſource of diviſions, each party united the inveterate hatred of the poor againſt the rich. Obſcure citizens, overwhelmed with debts, had no reſource but that of ſelling their liberty, or that of their children, to mercileſs creditors; and the greateſt part of them had determined to abandon a country which held out only ineffectual labour to ſome of them; and eternal ſlavery, and the ſacrifice of every ſentiment of nature, to the remainder [d].

An inconſiderable number of laws, almoſt as ancient as the ſtate, and generally known by the name of Royal Laws [e],

* From the year 630 to the year 590 before Jeſus Chriſt.

[a] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 12. t. ii. p. 336.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 126.

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59. Plut. in Solon. p. 85.

[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.

[e] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 856. Meurſ. in Them. Attic. cap. 36.

were found to be insufficient, since, from the growth of knowledge, new sources of industry, new necessities and vices were diffused through society. Licentiousness was either passed over with impunity, or reprehended by arbitrary punishments. The life and fortune of individuals were left at the discretion of magistrates, who, subjected to no certain limitations, were but too much disposed to listen to their prepossessions or their interests.

In this confusion which menaced the state with immediate destruction, Draco was made choice of, with full powers to exercise the whole of legislation, in its most extensive or circumstantial views. The particulars of his private life are little known to us; but he has left the reputation of a man of worth, possessed of real knowledge, and sincerely attached to his country [f]. Other strokes of character might perhaps embellish his eulogium, but are not necessary to his memory. Like all preceding and subsequent legislators, he formed a code of laws and morals; he took the citizen at the moment of his birth, prescribed the manner of his earliest education [g], followed him through the different stages of his life, and, connecting these partial views with the main object, flattered himself he should be able to form free men, and virtuous citizens: but he only produced malecontents, and his regulations excited so many murmurs, that he was compelled to take refuge in the island of Ægina, where he soon after died.

His laws were strongly impressed with the peculiarity of his character; they were as severe as his manners had ever been rigid [h]. Death was the chastisement he inflicted on idleness, and the only punishment he decreed for the slightest offences, as well as for the most atrocious crimes: he was accustomed to say, that he knew of none milder for the former, and could devise no other for the latter [i]. It seems as if his

[f] Aul. Gell. lib. 11. cap. 18. Suid. in Dracon.

[g] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 261.

[h] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 579.

[i] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

powerful mind, virtuous even to excefs, was incapable of any indulgence for crimes at which it revolted, or for thofe weakneffes over which it triumphed without an effort. Perhaps, too, he was of opinion that, in the path of vice, the firft ftep inevitably leads to the moft dreadful precipices.

As he had not attempted any change in the form of government [k], the inteftine divifions augmented from day to day. One of the principal citizens, named Cylon, formed the project of feizing on the fovereign authority: he was befieged in the citadel, where he long defended himfelf, and at length wanting provifions, and deftitute of every hope of fuccour, eluded, by flight, the punifhment due to his crime. His followers took refuge in the temple of Minerva; from which afylum they were enticed by the promife of life, and inftantly maffacred *. Some of thefe unfortunate men were murdered even on the altars of the awful Eumenides [l].

The indignation excited by this action was univerfal; the people at once execrated the perfidy, and fhuddered at the impiety of the victors; and the whole city expected that fome dreadful calamity would be immediately inflicted by celeftial vengeance. Amidft this general conftternation, news was brought that the city of Nifæa and the ifle of Salamis had fallen by the arms of the Megarians.

To this melancholy intelligence fucceeded, foon after, an epidemical diftemper. The public imagination, already agitated, was fuddenly feized with panic terrors, and haunted by a thoufand terrifying chimeras. The augurs and oracles being conſulted, declared that the city, polluted by the profanation of the holy places, muft be purified by the ceremonies of expiation.

The Athenians, therefore, fent to Crete for Epimenides [m], conſidered in his time as a man who had an intercourfe with

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[k] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337.

* The year 612 before Chriſt.

[l] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 126. Plut. in Solon. p. 84.

[m] Plato. de Legib. l. 1. t. ii. p. 642.

the gods, and who ſaw into futurity; though at preſent he would be only eſteemed a fanatic poſſeſſed of knowledge, capable of ſeducing by his talents, and of commanding reſpect by the ſeverity of his manners; ſkilful more eſpecially in explaining dreams, and the moſt obſcure preſages [n], and in diſcerning future events in the cauſes which were to produce them [o]. The Cretans ſay, that when young, he was ſeized in a cavern with a profound ſleep, which, according to ſome, laſted forty years [p]; and much longer, according to others [q]: they add, that on his awakening, aſtoniſhed at the changes in every thing he ſaw, and driven from his father's houſe as an impoſtor, he was not acknowledged till after he had given the moſt ſatisfactory proofs of the juſtneſs of his claims. The meaning of this whole ſtory muſt be, that Epimenides paſſed the firſt years of his youth in ſolitary places, wholly abſorbed in the ſtudy of nature, forming his imagination to enthuſiaſm [r], by faſting, ſilence, and meditation, without any other ambition, than by making himſelf acquainted with the will of the gods, to ſecure his dominion over the minds of men. His ſucceſs ſurpaſſed his hopes; and he acquired ſuch a reputation for wiſdom and ſanctity, that, in times of public calamity [s], nations entreated from him the favour of purifying them by rites, which, as they alleged, he could render more acceptable to the divinity.

Athens received him with tranſports of hope and fear *. He directed that new temples and new altars ſhould be built to immolate the victims he had choſen, and that theſe ſacrifices ſhould be accompanied by certain hymns [t]. As while ſpeaking he ſeemed agitated with a divine inſpiration [u], his impetuous elo-

[n] Ariſt. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 505.

[o] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 114.

[p] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 35.

[q] Plut. t. ii. p. 784. Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 110.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 18. t. iii. p. 16.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 35.

* Towards the year 597 before C. See note at the end of the volume.

[t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 479.

[u] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 18. t. iii. p. 16.

quence was irreſiſtible. He availed himſelf of the aſcendency he had acquired to effect ſeveral changes in the religious ceremonies then in uſe; and in this reſpect he may be eſteemed one of the legiſlators of Athens. He rendered theſe ceremonies leſt expenſive [x]; he aboliſhed the barbarous practice of the women, who cut and diſfigured their faces while accompanying the dead to the tomb; and, by a multitude of uſeful regulations, endeavoured to bring back the Athenians to the true principles of ſocial union and juſtice.

The confidence he had inſpired, and the time neceſſary for complying with his directions, inſenſibly calmed the minds of the people: the phantoms diſappeared, and Epimenides departed, covered with glory, and honoured with the regret of a whole nation; he refuſed conſiderable preſents, and only demanded for himſelf a branch of the olive conſecrated to Minerva, and the friendſhip of the Athenians for Cnoſſus his country [y].

Soon after his departure, the factions again revived with redoubled fury; and their exceſſes were carried to ſuch a height, as quickly to reduce them to that extremity, which leaves no other alternative to a ſtate, but to incur certain ruin, or ſubmit to be guided by the genius of a ſingle man.

Solon was therefore unanimouſly raiſed to the dignity of firſt magiſtrate, legiſlator, and ſovereign arbiter *. He was urged to mount the throne; but as he was doubtful whether it would be eaſy to deſcend from it, he reſiſted at once the reproaches of his friends, and the entreaties of the leaders of the factions, and of the wiſer part of the citizens [z].

Solon was deſcended from the ancient kings of Athens [a]; from his earlieſt youth, he had applied himſelf to commerce, either to repair the injuries which the liberality of his father had done to the fortune of his family, or to become acquainted with the manners and laws of different nations. After

[x] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 84.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. i. t. ii. p. 642. Plut. ibid. Laert. lib. i. § 111.
* Towards the year 594 before C.
[z] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 78.

acquiring ſufficient property in that profeſſion to place himſelf beyond the reach of want, and to render unneceſſary the generous offers of his friends, he continued to purſue his travels, with the ſole view of increaſing his ſtock of knowledge [b].

The learning of that time was in the poſſeſſion of a few virtuous men, known by the name of ſages, and diſperſed through the different diſtricts of Greece. The ſole object of their ſtudy was man, what he is, what he ought to be, and in what manner he may beſt be inſtructed and governed. They collected the ſmall number of moral and political truths, and compriſed them in maxims ſufficiently clear to be comprehended at the firſt glance, and preciſe enough to be, or to appear profound. Each of them ſelected one of theſe in preference, which became, as it were, his device, and the ſtandard of his conduct: "Too much of nothing," ſaid one; "Know thyſelf," ſaid another [c]. This conciſeneſs and accuracy, which the Spartans have retained in their ſtyle, was common in the anſwers formerly given by the ſages to the frequent queſtions of kings and individuals. United by a friendſhip never diminiſhed by their celebrity, they ſometimes aſſembled at the ſame place, to communicate their obſervations, and to conſult together for the intereſts of mankind [d].

In theſe auguſt aſſemblies appeared Thales of Miletus, who was at that time laying the foundation of a more general, but perhaps leſs uſeful philoſophy; Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindus, Myſon of Chena, Chilo of Lacedæmon, and Solon of Athens, the moſt illuſtrious of them all [e]. Nor will the ties of conſanguinity, or the memory of the places that gave me birth, permit me to forget Anacharſis, brought by the rumour of his celebrity from the moſt diſtant part of Scythia, and whom Greece, jealous as

[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 79.
[c] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343.
[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laert. in Thal. lib. 1. § 40.
[e] Plat. ibid. Plut. ibid.

ſhe is of the merit of foreigners, ſometimes places in the number of the ſages ſhe reveres [f].

To the information which Solon derived from his intercourſe with theſe great men, he had united diſtinguiſhed talents. He was born with a genius for poetry, which he cultivated to his extreme old age, but always without an effort, and without arrogance. His early eſſays were only works of recreation. In his other writings, we find hymns in honour of the gods, various alluſions intended to juſtify his legiſlation, counſels or reproaches addreſſed to the Athenians [g]; almoſt every where a pure morality, and beauties diſcloſing genius. In the later years of his life, having obtained an intimate acquaintance with the traditions of the Egyptians, he had undertaken to deſcribe, in a poem, the revolutions which have happened on our globe, and the wars of the Athenians with the inhabitants of the iſland of Atlantis, ſituated beyond the pillars of Hercules, and ſince ſwallowed up by the ocean [h]. If, free from every other care, he had, in a leſs advanced age, treated a ſubject ſo adapted to diſplay the vigour of his imagination, he might perhaps have participated in the glory of Homer and of Heſiod [i].

He may be reproached with not having ſhown a ſufficient enmity to riches, though he was not anxious to acquire them; with having ſometimes expreſſed himſelf concerning pleaſure in a manner not the moſt worthy of a philoſopher [k], and of not obſerving in his conduct that auſterity of manners which becomes the reformer of a nation. It ſhould ſeem as if his mild and eaſy character only deſtined him to lead a peaceful life in the boſom of the arts and innocent enjoyments.

Yet we muſt allow, that, on certain occaſions, he proved himſelf neither deficient in vigour nor in conſtancy. He it was who engaged the Athenians to recover the iſle of Salamis, in defiance of the rigorous injunction they had laid on their

f Hermip. ap. Laert. lib. 1. § 41.
g Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laert. in Solon. § 47.
h Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 113.
i Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21.
k Plut. in Solon. p. 79.

orators, not even to propoſe its conqueſt [l]: and his ſuperior courage ſeemed more eſpecially diſtinguiſhed in the firſt act of authority he exerciſed when at the head of the republic.

The poor, determined to riſk every thing to eſcape from oppreſſion, loudly demanded a new partition of the lands, preceded by an abolition of debts. The rich oppoſed, with the ſame ardour, claims which would have confounded them with the multitude, and, according to them, muſt have inevitably overturned the ſtate. In this extremity, Solon aboliſhed the debts of individuals, annulled all the acts which fettered the liberty of the citizen, and refuſed to equalize the diſtribution of the lands [m]. Both rich and poor thought that all was loſt, becauſe they had not obtained all; but when the former found themſelves ſtill peaceable poſſeſſors of the eſtates they had inherited from their anceſtors, or which they had themſelves acquired; when the latter, for ever releaſed from the dread of ſlavery, ſaw their little patrimonies freed from every ſpecies of ſervitude; when induſtry, in fine, was ſeen to flouriſh, confidence to be re-eſtabliſhed, and a number of unfortunate citizens, whom the ſeverity of creditors had driven from their country, were encouraged to return; their murmurs gave place to ſentiments of gratitude, and the people, admiring the wiſdom of their legiſlator, added new powers to thoſe with which they already had inveſted him.

He availed himſelf of theſe to reviſe the laws of Draco, the abolition of which was demanded by the Athenians. Thoſe reſpecting homicide were preſerved unrepealed [n], and they are ſtill enforced by the tribunals, where the name of Draco is never pronounced but with the veneration due to the benefactors of mankind [o].

Emboldened by ſucceſs, Solon completed the work of his legiſlation. He firſt regulated the form of government, and

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[l] Plut. in Solon. p. 82.
[m] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 805. Æſchin. in Timarc. p. 261.

next enacted laws to ſecure the tranquillity of the citizen. His principle was, in the firſt part of his plan, to eſtabliſh that equality which alone ought to ſubſiſt between the different orders of the ſtate in a republic [p]; and, in the ſecond, he was guided by the maxim, that the beſt government is that in which is found a wiſe diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments [q].

Solon, preferring the popular form of government to every other, beſtowed his firſt attention on three eſſential objects; the aſſembly of the nation, the choice of magiſtrates, and the tribunals of juſtice.

It was determined that the ſupreme power ſhould reſide in the aſſemblies, at which every citizen ſhould have a right to be preſent [r], and where all ordinances reſpecting peace, war, alliances, laws, impoſts, and all the great intereſts of the ſtate, ſhould originate [s].

But what will become of theſe intereſts in the hands of a giddy and ignorant multitude, who forget what they ſhould vote for during the deliberation, and the voice they have given when the deliberation is at an end [t]? To direct them in their deciſions, Solon inſtituted a ſenate compoſed of four hundred perſons, choſen from the four tribes, compriſing at that time all the citizens of Attica [u]. Theſe four hundred perſons might be conſidered as the deputies and repreſentatives of the ſtate. It was ordained, that all affairs on which the people were finally to pronounce, ſhould be firſt propoſed to them, and that, after examining and diſcuſſing theſe propoſitions at their leiſure, they ſhould themſelves report them to the general aſſembly; and hence the fundamental law, that every deciſion of the people ſhall be preceded by a decree of the ſenate [x].

[p] Solon. ap. Plut. ibid. p. 88.
[q] Cicer. Epiſt. 15. ad Brutum, t. ix. p. 115.
[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[s] Ariſt. de Rhet. ad Alex. c. 3. t. ii. p. 612.
[t] Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 314.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[x] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 541. Id. in Androt. p. 699. Liban. in Androt. p. 696. Plut. ibid. Harpocr. in προβούλ.

Since all the citizens have the right of being preſent at the aſſembly, they muſt poſſeſs that of giving their ſuffrages. But there would be reaſon to fear, that after the report of the ſenate, inexperienced men might ſuddenly take poſſeſſion of the roſtrum, and miſlead the multitude. The firſt impreſſions they are to receive, therefore, muſt be previouſly prepared; and hence it was regulated, that the firſt ſuffrages ſhould be given by men who had paſſed the fiftieth year of their age [y].

In certain republics, a ſet of men aroſe, who devoted themſelves to the profeſſion of haranguing; and experience had ſhown that their voices had frequently more weight in popular aſſemblies than the power of the laws [z]. It was neceſſary to guard againſt their eloquence, and integrity of character was deemed a ſufficient ſecurity againſt abuſes in the exerciſe of their talents. It was ordained, that no orator ſhould be permitted to intermeddle in public affairs, until his moral conduct had undergone a careful ſcrutiny; and every citizen was allowed to proceed judicially againſt the orator who ſhould have found the ſecret of concealing the irregularity of his manners from the ſeverity of this inquiry [a].

After providing for the mode in which the ſupreme power was to make known its will, magiſtrates muſt be choſen to carry that will into execution. In whom reſides the power of conferring the offices of magiſtracy? On what perſons; how; and for what time; with what reſtrictions muſt they be conferred? On all theſe points, the inſtitutions of Solon appear conformable to the true ſpirit of a wiſe democracy.

The functions of the magiſtracy, in this government, are ſo important, that the nomination to offices can only be veſted in the ſovereign power. Did not the people poſſeſs, as far as practicable, the right of diſpoſing of them, and of keeping a vigilant eye over the manner in which they are exer-

[y] Æſchin. in Timarc. p. 264.
[z] Plut. in Conv. t. ii. p. 154.
[a] Æſchin. ibid. Harpocr. et Suidas, in ῥητορ. γραφ.

ciſed, they would be enſlaved, and conſequently become enemies of the ſtate [b]. Solon left, therefore, to the general aſſembly the power of chooſing the magiſtrates, and that of requiring from them an account of their adminiſtration [c].

In the Grecian democracies in general, every citizen, even the pooreſt, may aſpire to the magiſtracy [d]. But Solon thought it more prudent to leave this privilege in the hands of the rich, who had hitherto poſſeſſed it [e]. He diſtributed the citizens of Attica into four claſſes. They were enrolled in the firſt, ſecond, and third of theſe claſſes, accordingly as they received from their reſpective patrimonies, five, three, or two hundred meaſures of corn or oil. The other citizens, for the moſt part poor and ignorant, were compriſed in the fourth, and removed from all political employments [f]. Had they poſſeſſed the hope of attaining theſe offices, they would have been leſs reſpectable in their eyes; had they in fact attained them, what could have been expected from ſuch magiſtrates [g]?

It is eſſential to a democracy, that the offices of the magiſtracy ſhould be granted only for a time, and that thoſe at leaſt which require only a certain degree of capacity ſhould be left to the diſpoſal of fortune [h]. Solon ordered, therefore, that all offices ſhould be annual; that the principal dignities ſhould, as heretofore, be conferred by the election of the people [i]; and that the others ſhould be drawn for by lot [k].

In fine, the nine chief magiſtrates, preſiding, in quality of archons, in the tribunals before which the cauſes of individuals were tried, it was to be feared leſt their power might give them too much influence over the multitude. Solon determined that appeals might lie from their ſentence to the ſuperior courts [l].

b Ariſt. de Repub. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
c Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 350; lib. 6. c. 4. p. 416.
d Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 399; lib. 6. c. 2. p. 414.
e Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 336.
f Plut. in Solon. p 88.
g Ariſt. ibid. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 350.
h Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 414.
i Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 12.
k Æſchin. in Tim. p. 63.
l Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

It now remained to fill the courts of juſtice. We have ſeen that the laſt and moſt numerous claſs of citizens were excluded from any ſhare in the magiſtracy. Such an excluſion, always humiliating in a popular ſtate, would have been infinitely dangerous [m], if the citizens who laboured under this incapacity had not received ſome indemnification, and if they had ſeen the diſcuſſion of their intereſts and rights excluſively poſſeſſed by the rich. Solon ordained that all, without diſtinction, might become candidates to fill the place of judges, and that chance ſhould be the arbiter between them [n].

To render durable theſe regulations, eſſential to the eſtabliſhment of a kind of equilibrium between the different claſſes of citizens, it was neceſſary to confide their conſervation to a body of men, whoſe places ſhould be for life, who ſhould have no part in the adminiſtration, and who might impreſs on the minds of the people a profound reſpect for their wiſdom. Athens poſſeſſed in the areopagus a tribunal which attracted the confidence and love of nations, by its knowledge and integrity [o]. Solon having intruſted to its vigilance the maintenance of the laws and of morals, eſtabliſhed it as a ſuperior power, whoſe duty it was inceſſantly to recal the people to the principles of the conſtitution, and individuals to the rules of duty and decorum. Still more to increaſe the public veneration for this tribunal, and to render it thoroughly acquainted with the intereſts of the republic, he enacted, that the archons, on going out of office, ſhould, after a ſevere examination, be enrolled in the number of ſenators.

Thus did the ſenate of the areopagus, and that of the four hundred, become two counterpoiſes ſufficiently powerful to ſecure the republic againſt the ſtorms from which all ſtates are inceſſantly in danger [p]; the former, by repreſſing the en-

[m] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 11. t. ii. p. 350.
[n] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 336. Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 832.
[o] Meurſ. Areop. c. 4.
[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88.

terprises of the rich by its general censure; and the latter, by restraining by its decrees and its presence the excesses of the multitude.

New laws were enacted in support of these regulations. The constitution might be attacked either by the general factions which had so long agitated the different orders of the state, or by the ambition and intrigues of certain individuals.

To guard against these dangers, Solon denounced punishments against those citizens who, in time of public commotion, refused openly to declare for one of the parties [q]. His view, in this admirable institution, was to rouse men of merit and integrity from a state of fatal inactivity; to oppose them to the factious, and save the republic by the courage and ascendency of virtue.

By a second law, every citizen convicted of having attempted to make himself master of the sovereign authority, was condemned to death [r].

Lastly, In the case of an attempt to erect another government on the ruins of the popular form, this wise legislator could imagine but one method to reanimate the nation, and that was, by obliging the magistrates to resign their employments; and hence this stern and menacing decree: It shall be lawful for every citizen, not only to put to death a tyrant and his accomplices, but any magistrate who shall continue to exercise his functions after the destruction of the democracy [s].

Such is the epitome of the republic of Solon. I shall now take a cursory view of his civil and criminal laws with the same rapidity. I have already said, that those of Draco respecting homicide were retained without the smallest alteration. Solon abolished all the others, or rather contented himself with mitigating their rigour [t], new modelling them with

[q] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 89. Aul. Gell. lib 2. c. 12.
[r] Id. t. i. p. 110.
[s] Andoc. de Myster. p. 13.
[t] Lys. ap. Laert. in Solon. § 55.

his own, and adapting them to the genius of the Athenians.

His object in all was the general welfare of the republic, rather than the benefit of individuals [u]. Thus, according to his principles, which were perfectly conformable to those of the most enlightened philosophers, the citizen is to be considered in his person as forming part of the state [x]; in the greater part of the obligations he contracts, as appertaining to a family, which itself appertains to the state [y]; and in his conduct, as the member of a society, whose morals constitute the power of that state.

Under the former of these aspects, a citizen may demand satisfactory reparation for an outrage on his person: but if he be in extreme indigence, how may he be able to deposit the sum required to be advanced by the accuser? He is exempted from it by the laws [z]. But if born in an obscure condition, who shall secure him against the attacks of the rich and powerful man? All the true friends of the democracy, all those whom probity, interest, jealousy, or revenge have made the enemies of the aggressor; all are authorised to prosecute by this admirable law. "If any one shall insult a child, a woman, a free man, or a slave, let it be lawful for any Athenian to prosecute him [a]." The accusation will thus become public, and an offence committed against the lowest citizen be punished as a crime against the state; and this is founded on the following principle: Force is the lot of some, law the support of all [b]. This again is founded on the maxim of Solon: That there would be no acts of injustice in a city, were all the citizens to consider themselves as directly attacked as those who suffer the injury [c].

[u] Demosth. in Androt. p. 703.
[x] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 1. p. 450.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. p. 923.
[z] Isocr. in Loch. t. ii. p. 547.
[a] Demosth. in Mid. p. 610. Isocr. in Loch. p. 548. Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[b] Demosth. ibid.
[c] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 247. et 268.

The liberty of the citizen is ſo precious, that its exerciſe is to be ſuſpended by the laws alone; that he cannot himſelf engage it for debt, or on any pretext whatever [d], nor has he the right of diſpoſing of that of his ſons. The legiſlator allows him to ſell his daughter, or ſiſter, but in the ſingle inſtance of witneſſing their diſhonour *, when charged with the ſuperintendance of their conduct [e].

When an Athenian is guilty of ſelf-murder, he is culpable towards the ſtate, which he deprives of a citizen [f]. His hand is ſeparately interred as a ſtigma on his memory [g]. But ſhould he be the murderer of his father, what puniſhment ſhall the laws preſcribe? They are ſilent concerning this atrocious crime. To inſpire more horror for it, Solon has ſuppoſed ſuch a degeneracy of nature abſolutely impoſſible [h].

The liberty of a citizen would be imperfect, could his honour be attacked with impunity. Hence the penalties denounced againſt calumniators, and the permiſſion to proſecute them [i]; hence too, the prohibition againſt ſullying the memory of a man who is no more [k]. Independent of the ſage policy there is in not perpetuating the hatreds between families, it is unjuſt that a man after death ſhould be expoſed to inſults he would have repelled during his lifetime.

A citizen is not the maſter of his honour, ſince he is not of his life. Hence thoſe laws which, in various circumſtances, deprive the man who forfeits his honour of the privileges appertaining to the citizen.

In other countries, the citizens of the lower claſſes are ſo diſmayed at the obſcurity of their condition, the influence of their adverſaries, the prolixity of legal procedures, and the dangers to which they may be expoſed by them, that they often find it better for them to endure, than to endeavour to

d Plut. in Solon. p. 86.

* See note III. at the end of the volume.

e Ibid. p. 91.

f Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 5. c. 15. t. ii. p. 73.

g Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 467. Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 522.

h Cicer. in Roſc. c. 25. t. iv. p. 72. Laert. in Solon. § 59.

i Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 535.

k Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

defend themſelves againſt oppreſſion. The laws of Solon preſent ſeveral remedies againſt violence or injuſtice. Is the matter in queſtion a robbery, for inſtance[l]; you may yourſelf drag the criminal before the eleven magiſtrates appointed for the guard of the priſons. They will put him in irons, and then bring him before the tribunal, which will condemn you to a penalty if the crime be not proved. Are you not ſtrong enough to ſeize the criminal; apply to the archons, who will have him dragged to priſon by their lictors. Would you adopt another method; accuſe him publicly. Are you afraid of not being able ſatisfactorily to ſupport this accuſation, and of being ſentenced to pay the penalty of one thouſand drachmas; lodge an information before the tribunal of the arbiters; the cauſe will be converted into a civil action, and you will incur no riſk. Thus has Solon multiplied the powers of each individual, and there is no ſpecies of oppreſſion or injury over which it is not eaſy to triumph.

The greater part of the crimes which attack the ſecurity of the citizen may be proſecuted by a public or private accuſation. In the former caſe, the offended perſon conſiders himſelf only as a ſimple individual, and confines his demands to a reparation proportionate to his particular injuries: in the latter, he preſents himſelf in the quality of citizen, and the crime becomes more ſerious. Solon has facilitated public accuſations, becauſe they are more neceſſary in a democracy, than under any other form of government[m]. But for this formidable check, the general liberty would be perpetually endangered by the liberty of each individual.

Let us now ſee what are the duties of the citizen, in the generality of the obligations he contracts.

In a well regulated republic, the number of inhabitants ſhould neither be too great nor too inconſiderable[n]. Expe-

[l] Demoſth. in Androt. p. 703.

[m] Machiavel. Diſcorſ. ſopra la prima Deca di Liv. lib. 1. cap. 7 et 8.

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 423. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 430.

rience has ſhown, that the number of men able to bear arms ought neither greatly to ſurpaſs, nor fall much ſhort of twenty thouſand [o].

To preſerve this juſt proportion, Solon, amongſt other means, does not permit ſtrangers to be naturalized but on conditions difficult to be complied with [p]: on the other hand, to prevent the extinction of families, he wills that their chiefs ſhould be repreſented after their death by legitimate or adopted children; and in the caſe of an individual dying without iſſue, he ordains that one of his natural heirs ſhall be juridically ſubſtituted for the deceaſed citizen, aſſume his name, and perpetuate his family [q].

The magiſtrate whoſe office it is to prevent families from remaining without heads, is likewiſe to extend his care and the protection of the laws to orphans; to women who declare their pregnancy after the death of their huſbands; and to girls who, having no brothers, are entitled to claim the inheritance of their anceſtors [r].

Does a citizen adopt a child; the latter may one day return to his paternal houſe; but he muſt leave in the family that adopted him, a ſon to accompliſh the views of his original adoption; and this ſon, in his turn, may quit this family, after leaving a natural or adopted ſon as his ſubſtitute [s]. Theſe precautions were not ſufficient. The chain of generations might be interrupted by diviſions and animoſities between the huſband and wife. Divorces ſhall be permitted, but on conditions which ſhall reſtrain their frequency [t]. If it be the huſband who demands the ſeparation, he expoſes himſelf to reſtore to his wife her dowry, or at leaſt to pay her an alimentary penſion ſettled by the law [u]: if it be the

[o] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Dem. in Ariſtog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Philoch. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 67. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 716.

[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 91.

[q] Demoſth. in Leoch. p. 1047.

[r] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040.

[s] Demoſth. in Leoch. p. 1045.

[t] Pet. in Leg. Attic. p. 459.

[u] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 869.

wife, ſhe muſt herſelf appear before the judges, and preſent her requeſt [x].

It is eſſential in a democracy, not only that families ſhould be preſerved, but that eſtates ſhould not be in the hands of a ſmall number of individuals [y]. When they are diſtributed in a certain proportion, the people, poſſeſſed of a few trifling parcels of land, are more occupied with them than with the diſſenſions of the forum. Hence the prohibitions of ſome legiſlators againſt ſelling the family poſſeſſions, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity [z], or of mortgaging them to procure reſources againſt want [a]. The violation of this principle has ſometimes ſerved to overthrow the conſtitution [b].

Of this principle Solon never has loſt ſight: he has preſcribed limits to the acquiſitions which may be made by individuals [c]; and he has deprived that citizen of part of his rights who has fooliſhly waſted the inheritance of his fathers [d].

An Athenian who has children can only diſpoſe of his property in their favour; if he has none, and dies inteſtate, the ſucceſſion deſcends in a right line to thoſe who are neareſt of kin [e]: if he leaves an only daughter heireſs of his fortune, it is the duty of the neareſt relation to eſpouſe her [f]; but he muſt demand her in form of law, that no perſon hereafter may diſpute with him the poſſeſſion. Theſe rights of the next of kin are ſo clearly recognized, that ſhould one of his female relations, previouſly married to an Athenian, ſucceed to the eſtate of her father, dead without male iſſue, he is entitled to annul the marriage, and compel her to eſpouſe him [g].

But if this huſband be not in a condition to have children, he will tranſgreſs the law which watches over the perpetua-

[x] Andocid. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.
[y] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 375.
[z] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 323.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 417.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 388.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 323.
[d] Laert. in Solon § 55.
[e] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1035.
[f] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 441.
[g] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 444. Herald. Animad. in Salmaſ. lib. 3. cap. 15.

tion of families, and offend againſt that which preſerves their property. To puniſh him for this double infraction, Solon permits the wife to beſtow herſelf on the neareſt relation of the huſband [h].

It is with the ſame view that an orphan, the only or the eldeſt daughter of her father, may, if ſhe have no fortune, oblige her neareſt relation to marry, or provide her with a dower: if he refuſes, the orphan will compel him, under penalty of a fine of one thouſand drachmas [i]. It is from the conſequences of theſe principles likewiſe, that the natural heir is, on the one hand, incapable of being guardian, and the guardian of eſpouſing the mother of his wards [k]; and that, on the other hand, a brother may marry his half ſiſter by the father, but not his uterine ſiſter [l]. And in fact it would be to be apprehended that an intereſted guardian, or an unnatural mother, might turn to their advantage the property of their wards; their would be ground to fear leſt a brother, by leaguing with his uterine ſiſter, ſhould accumulate in his own perſon both the inheritance of his father and that of the firſt huſband of his mother [m].

All the regulations of Solon reſpecting ſucceſſions, teſtaments, and donations, are dictated by the ſame ſpirit. We muſt not, however, overlook that which allows a citizen dying without children, to diſpoſe of his property at pleaſure. Some philoſophers have exclaimed, and many perhaps will ſtill exclaim, againſt a law which appears ſo contrary to the principles of the legiſlator [n]. Others juſtify him both by the reſtrictions with which he has clogged the law, and the object he had in view: for he requires that the teſtator ſhall neither be enfeebled by age or ſickneſs; that he ſhall not have yielded to the ſeductions of a wife; that he ſhall not be in

[h] Plut. in Solon. p. 89.
[i] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1036.
[k] Laert. in Solon. § 56.
[l] Cornel. Nep. in Præf. Id. in Cim. Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 128; in Cimon. p. 480. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 440.
[m] Eſprit des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5.
[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. p. 922. Eſpr. des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5.

bonds, nor have given any ſymptoms of alienation of mind [o]. With all theſe precautions, what reaſon can there be to fear he ſhould chooſe an heir from any other family, if he has no cauſe to complain of his own? It was with a view, therefore, of exciting reſpect and attention among relations [p], that Solon granted the citizens a permiſſion they had never before poſſeſſed, which they received with applauſe [q], and is not naturally liable to abuſe. It muſt be added, that an Athenian who called in a ſtranger to his inheritance, at the ſame time adopted him [r].

The Egyptians have a law, by which each individual muſt give an account of his fortune, and the means by which he procures a maintenance [s]. This law is ſtill more uſeful in a democracy, where the people ſhould be neither unemployed, nor gain their livelihood by illicit means [t]: and ſtill more is it neceſſary in a country, where the ſterility of the ſoil can only be compenſated by labour and induſtry [u].

Hence, the regulations by which Solon ſtigmatizes idleneſs with infamy [x], and directs the areopagus to inquire into the mode by which individuals provide for their ſubſiſtence; allows them to exerciſe all the mechanic arts, and deprives the man who neglects to educate his ſon to ſome profeſſion, of the aid he ſhould expect from him in his old age [y].

It only remains to mention a few of his regulations relative to the morals of the people.

Solon, after the example of Draco, enacted a number of laws relative to the duties of the citizens, and particularly the education of youth [z]. In them he has foreſeen and provided for every thing, both the preciſe age at which children ſhould receive public leſſons, and the characters and talents of the

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[o] Demoſth. in Steph. 2. p. 984.
[p] Id. in Lept. p. 556.
[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[r] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 479.
[s] Herod. lib. 2. cap. 177. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 70.
[t] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 4. Eſpr. des Lois, lib. 5. chap. 6.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[x] Laert. in Solon. § 55. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. et cap. 42. Demoſth. in Eubul. p. 887.
[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[z] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 261.

maſters who are to inſtruct them, the preceptors who are to attend them, and the hours of opening and ſhutting the ſchools; and as theſe places ſhould admit nothing that may taint innocence: Let every man, adds he, be puniſhed with death, who ſhall dare to introduce himſelf without neceſſity into the ſanctuary where the children are aſſembled, and let one of the courts of juſtice ſuperintend the obſervance of theſe regulations [a].

At the expiration of infancy, they ſhall be removed to the gymnaſium. There the laws ſhall ſtill watch over them, to preſerve the purity of their manners, to guard them againſt the contagion of example, and the dangers of ſeduction.

In the various periods of their lives, new paſſions will ſucceed rapidly in their hearts. The legiſlator has multiplied menaces and puniſhments; he aſſigns recompences to virtue, and diſhonour to vice.[b].

Thus, the children of thoſe who ſhall die fighting for their country, are to be educated at the public expence [c]; and crowns are to be ſolemnly decreed to thoſe who have rendered ſervices to the ſtate.

On the other hand, the citizen become notorious for depravity of manners, whatever be his condition, or whatever talents he poſſeſſes, ſhall be excluded from the prieſthood, the magiſtracy, the ſenate, and general aſſembly; he ſhall neither be allowed to ſpeak in public, nor undertake an embaſſy, nor have a ſeat in the tribunals of juſtice; and ſhould he exerciſe any of thoſe functions, he ſhall be criminally proſecuted, and ſuffer the rigorous puniſhments preſcribed by law [d].

Cowardice, under whatever form it appears, whether by refuſing military ſervice, or by betraying it by ſome unworthy action, cannot be palliated by the rank of the offender, nor under any pretext: it ſhall be puniſhed not only by general

[a] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 261.
[b] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 564.
[c] Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[d] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 263.

contempt, but by a public accuſation, which will teach the citizen ſtill more to dread the diſgrace inflicted by the law than the ſword of the enemy [e].

The laws have prohibited every kind of ſtudied refinement and delicacy among the men [f], and reſtrain the women, who have ſuch influence on manners, within the bounds of modeſty [g]; they oblige a ſon to maintain, in their old age, the authors of his being [h]. But children born of a courtezan are exempted from this obligation towards their father, ſince they, in fact, owe to him nothing but the opprobrium of their birth [i].

To maintain theſe manners, there muſt be examples; and theſe examples muſt proceed from thoſe who are at the head of government. The greater the height from which they deſcend, the more deep and laſting is their impreſſion. The corruption of the meaner citizens is eaſily repreſſed, and extends its progreſs only in obſcurity; for corruption never aſcends from the lower claſſes to the higher: but when it is daring enough to take poſſeſſion of the ſeat of power, it precipitates itſelf from thence with more force than the laws themſelves can exert; it has accordingly been boldly advanced, that the manners of a nation depend ſolely on thoſe of the ſovereign [k].

Solon was perſuaded that no leſs decency and ſanctity were neceſſary in the adminiſtration of a democracy, than in the miniſtry of the altars. Hence, thoſe examinations, thoſe oaths, thoſe accounts of their conduct he exacts from perſons who either are, or have been, inveſted with power; hence, his maxim, that juſtice ſhould be ſlowly exerciſed on the faults of individuals, but at the very inſtant on men in office [l]; hence, that terrible law which condemns to death the archon who,

[e] Id. in Cteſiph. p. 456.
[f] Athen. lib. 15. p. 687.
[g] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[h] Laert. in Solon. § 55.
[i] Plut. ibid.
[k] Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 168.
[l] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 845.

after loſing his reaſon in the pleaſures of the table, ſhould dare to appear in public with the enſigns of his dignity [m].

In fine, if we conſider that the cenſure of morals was intruſted to a tribunal, the auſterity of whoſe conduct conſtituted the ſevereſt of cenſures, we ſhall readily conceive that Solon conſidered the preſervation of morals as the firmeſt ſupport of his legiſlation.

Such was the general ſyſtem of Solon. His civil and criminal laws have always been regarded as oracles by the Athenians, and as models by other nations. Several of the Grecian ſtates have conſidered it as a duty to adopt them [n]; and from the fartheſt part of Italy, the Romans, wearied with their diviſions, have called them in to their aſſiſtance [o]. As circumſtances may oblige a ſtate to modify ſome of its laws, I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the precautions taken by Solon to introduce the neceſſary changes, and to avoid ſuch as might prove dangerous.

The form of government he eſtabliſhed, differs eſſentially from that now in uſe at Athens. Muſt we attribute this prodigious change to vices inherent in the conſtitution itſelf? or is it to be aſcribed to events impoſſible to be foreſeen? I ſhall venture, from information received in my intercourſe with ſeveral enlightened Athenians, to hazard a few reflections on ſo important a ſubject: but this ſlight diſcuſſion muſt be preceded by the hiſtory of the revolutions which have happened in the ſtate, from the days of Solon to the invaſion of the Perſians.

The laws of Solon were to continue in force only for a century. He had fixed this period to prevent the Athenians from murmuring at the proſpect of an eternal yoke. After the ſenators, the archons, and the people, had ſworn to maintain them, they were inſcribed on the different faces of ſeveral

[m] Laert. in Solon. § 57. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 240.
[n] Demoſth. in Tim. p. 805.
[o] Liv. lib. 3. cap. 31. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xii. p. 42.

tablets of wood, which at firſt were depoſited in the citadel. They reached from the ground to the roof of the edifice that contained them [p]; and being eaſily turned round, ſucceſſively preſented the whole code of laws to the eyes of the ſpectators. They have ſince been removed to the prytaneum, and other places, where individuals are allowed free acceſs to conſult theſe precious charters of their liberty [q].

When time had been given to conſider and make trial of theſe laws, Solon was ſurrounded by a crowd of importunate citizens, who overwhelmed him with queſtions, advices, commendations, or reproaches. Some preſſed him for an explanation of particular laws, capable, according to them, of different interpretations; others propoſed a variety of things to be added, modified, or ſuppreſſed. Solon having exhauſted his patience, and tried every conciliatory method in vain, was ſenſible that time alone could perfect and give ſtrength to his work; he therefore departed, after requeſting permiſſion to abſent himſelf for ten years [r], and binding the Athenians by a ſolemn oath, not to make any alteration in his laws during his abſence [s].

In Egypt he converſed with thoſe prieſts, who imagine they have in their poſſeſſion the annals of the world; and as he was one day explaining to them the ancient traditions of Greece: "Solon, Solon," ſaid one of the prieſts gravely, "you Greeks are but very young; time has not yet made your knowledge hoary [t]." In Crete, he had the honour to inſtruct the ſovereign of a little diſtrict in the art of government, and to give his name to a city to the happineſs of which he had been inſtrumental [u].

At his return, he found the Athenians ready to ſink again into anarchy [x]. The three parties, which had ſo long rent the republic, ſeemed to have ſuſpended their hatred during his

[p] Etym. Magn. in Axon.
[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 92. Aul. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 12. Poll. l. 8. c. 10. No. 128. Meurſ. Lect. Att. lib. 1. cap. 22. Pet. in Præf. Leg. Att.
[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 92.
[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 29.
[t] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 22.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 93.
[x] Id. p. 94.

legiſlation, only to vent it with more violence in his abſence; in one point alone were they united; in deſiring a change in the conſtitution, without any other motive but a ſecret reſtleſſneſs, or any object but vague hopes.

Solon, received with the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, wiſhed to avail himſelf of theſe favourable diſpoſitions to calm diſſenſions too frequently reviving: at firſt he thought himſelf powerfully ſeconded by Piſiſtratus, who was at the head of the popular faction; and who, apparently eager to maintain equality among the citizens, declared himſelf an irreconcileable enemy to every innovation which might tend to its deſtruction: but he ſoon diſcovered that this profound politician concealed the moſt inordinate ambition under the maſk of an affected moderation.

Never did man unite more qualities to captivate the minds of the people. He was of an illuſtrious birth [y], and poſſeſſed of great wealth, acknowledged courage [z], a commanding figure [a], a perſuaſive eloquence [b], to which the muſical tone of his voice lent new charms [c]; and a mind enriched with the talents beſtowed by nature, and the information procured by ſtudy [d]. No man was a greater maſter of his paſſions, or knew better how to turn to advantage thoſe virtues he really poſſeſſed, and thoſe of which he had only the appearance [e]. His ſucceſs has proved, that in projects of tedious execution nothing can beſtow a more decided ſuperiority than mildneſs and flexibility of character.

With ſuch eminent advantages, Piſiſtratus, acceſſible to the loweſt citizens, laviſhed on them thoſe conſolations and ſuccours which dry up the ſource, or palliate the bitterneſs, of ſuffering [f]. Solon, attentive to his proceedings, penetrated his intentions; but, whilſt he was employed in deviſing means to guard againſt their conſequences, Piſiſtratus appeared in

[y] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 65.
[z] Id. lib. 1. cap. 59.
[a] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 533.
[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 95. Cicer. in Brut. cap. 7. t. i. p. 342.
[c] Plut. in Pericl. p. 155.
[d] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 312.
[e] Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
[f] Plut. ibid.

the forum, covered with wounds he had artfully procured, imploring the protection of that people he had himself so frequently protected [g]. The assembly being immediately convoked, he accused the senate and the chiefs of the other factions of attempting his life; and displaying his still bleeding wounds: "Behold," exclaimed he, "the reward of my love for the democracy, and of the zeal with which I have defended your rights [h]."

At these words only menacing exclamations were heard on all sides; the principal citizens kept silence in astonishment, or took to flight. Solon, filled with indignation at their cowardice, and the infatuation of the people, in vain attempted to re-animate the courage of the former, and to dispel the frenzy of the latter [i]: his voice, enfeebled by years, was easily overpowered by the clamours excited by pity, rage, and apprehension. The assembly concluded by voting Pisistratus a strong guard for the defence of his person. From this moment all his projects were accomplished: he presently employed this force to take possession of the citadel [k]; and, after disarming the multitude, seized without opposition on the supreme authority *.

Solon did not long survive the enslaving of his country: he had opposed as much as was in his power, the enterprises of Pisistratus. He was seen, with arms, repairing to the forum, and endeavouring to excite the people to defend their liberties [l]: but his example and harangues no longer produced any effect; his friends alone, terrified at his courage, represented to him, that the tyrant was resolved on his destruction; "and what," added they, "can inspire you with such firmness?" "My old age," replied he [m].

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[g] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59. Arist. de Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 518. Diod. Sicul. lib. 13. p. 215. Laert. in Solon. &c.

[h] Justin. lib. 2. c. 8. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

[k] Plut. in Solon. p. 96. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 2.

* The year 560 before Christ.

[l] Plut. ibid. Laert. in Solon. § 49. Val. Maxim. lib. 5. c. 3. No. 3.

[m] Plut. ibid. Cicer. de Senect. cap. 20. t. iii. p. 317.

Piſiſtratus was far from ſullying his triumph by an act ſo atrocious and ſo odious. Penetrated with the higheſt veneration for Solon, he felt that the ſanction of that legiſlator alone would in ſome meaſure excuſe his uſurpation: he courted him by diſtinguiſhed marks of deference and reſpect; he aſked his advice; and Solon, yielding to ſeduction, while he imagined he only gave way to neceſſity, was ſoon prevailed upon to aſſiſt him with his counſel [n]; flattering himſelf, no doubt, with the hope of inducing Piſiſtratus to maintain the laws, and to make fewer encroachments on the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

Thirty-three years elapſed between the revolution and the death of Piſiſtratus *, but he continued at the head of affairs only ſeventeen years [o]. Overpowered by the ſuperior ſtrength of his adverſaries, and twice obliged to fly from Athens, he twice reſumed his authority [p], and had the conſolation, before he died, of ſecuring it to his family.

During the whole of his government, his days, dedicated to the ſervice of the public, were continually diſtinguiſhed either by new benefits or new virtues.

His laws, by baniſhing idleneſs, encouraged agriculture and induſtry: he diſtributed over the country that multitude of obſcure citizens, whom the heat of factions had ſettled in the capital [q]; he revived the valour of the troops, by aſſigning to invalid ſoldiers a certain ſubſiſtence for the remainder of their lives [r]. In the country, in the forum, in his gardens, acceſſible to every perſon [s], he appeared like a father amidſt his children: ever ready to liſten to the complaints of the unfortunate; making pecuniary allowances to ſome, advances to others, and offers to all [t].

[n] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

* The year 528 before Chriſt.

[o] Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 8. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 411.

[p] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 64. Ariſt. ibid.

[q] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 7. p. 120; orat. 25. p. 281. Heſych. et Suid. in Κατων.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

[s] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 533.

[t] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 25.

With a view of gratifying his taſte for magnificence, at the ſame time that he complied with the neceſſity of giving employment to an untractable and idle people [u], he embelliſhed the city with temples, gymnaſia, and fountains [x]; and as he did not dread the progreſs of knowledge, he publiſhed a new edition of the works of Homer, and founded a library, compoſed of the beſt authors then extant, for the uſe of the Athenians.

Let us add here a few anecdotes which more particularly evince the greatneſs of his mind. Never had he the weakneſs to revenge inſults which it was eaſy for him to puniſh.

While his daughter was attending a religious ceremony, a young man who was paſſionately in love with her, ran to embrace her, and ſome time after attempted to carry her off. Piſiſtratus, when adviſed by his family to take vengeance, replied: "If we hate thoſe who love us, what ſhall we do to thoſe who hate us?" and immediately choſe this young man to be the huſband of his daughter [y].

Some drunken perſons publicly inſulted his wife; the next day they came to him in tears, to ſolicit a pardon they could ſcarcely dare to hope. "You are miſtaken," replied Piſiſtratus; "my wife did not ſtir out yeſterday the whole day [z]." To conclude, ſome of his adherents, reſolving to withdraw from their obedience to him, retired to a ſtrong hold. He inſtantly followed them, with ſome ſlaves carrying his baggage; and when the conſpirators inquired of him his intention: "You muſt either perſuade me to remain with you," ſaid he, "or I muſt prevail on you to return with me [a]."

Theſe acts of moderation and clemency, frequently repeated during his life, and rendered more conſpicuous by the wiſdom of his government, inſenſibly mitigated the refractory

[u] Ariſt. de Repub. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407.
[x] Meurſ. in Piſiſtr. cap. 9.
[y] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 189. Poly. Strat. lib. 5. cap. 14. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 1.
[z] Plut. ibid.
[a] Plut. ibid.

ſpirit of the Athenians, and made many of them prefer ſo mild a ſervitude to their ancient and tumultuous liberty [b].

Yet it muſt be owned, that though in a monarchy Piſiſtratus would have been the model of the beſt of kings, in the republic of Athens, the citizens in general were more diſpoſed to regard with abhorrence the crime of his uſurpation, than to conſider all the advantages derived from his government to the ſtate.

After his death, his ſons Hippias and Hipparchus ſucceeded him, and, with leſs brilliant talents, governed with the ſame wiſdom [c]. Hipparchus, in particular, was fond of letters. Anacreon and Simonides, invited to his court, met with the moſt flattering reception: the firſt was loaded with honours, and the ſecond with preſents. He deſerves alſo to participate with his father in the glory of extending the fame of Homer [d]. He may be reproached, as well as his brother, with too freely abandoning himſelf to pleaſures, and with inſpiring the Athenians with a taſte for luxury [e]: fortunate, nevertheleſs, if, in the midſt of theſe exceſſes, he had not committed an act of injuſtice, of which he was the firſt victim!

Two young Athenians, Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, united in bonds of the tendereſt friendſhip, having received from this prince an affront it was impoſſible to forget, conſpired his deſtruction, and that of his brother [f]. Some of their friends entered into this conſpiracy, and its execution was fixed for the ſolemnity of the Panathenæa: they hoped that the crowd of Athenians, who, during the ceremonies of this feſtival, were permitted to bear arms, would ſecond their efforts, or at leaſt protect them againſt the fury of the guards who attended on the ſons of Piſiſtratus.

With this view, after covering their poniards with branches of myrtle, they repaired to the place where the princes were

[b] Herod. lib. 1. cap. 62.
[c] Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 54.
[d] Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 228.
[e] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 532.
[f] Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 56. Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 406; et alii.

arranging a proceſſion they were to precede to the temple of Minerva. When they arrived, they ſaw one of the conſpirators in familiar converſation with Hippias, and concluded themſelves betrayed; but reſolving dearly to ſell their lives, retired for a moment, and finding Hipparchus, plunged a dagger in his heart *. Harmodius inſtantly fell beneath the redoubled blows of the princes guards. Ariſtogiton, ſeized almoſt at the ſame inſtant, was put to the torture; but far from naming his accomplices, he accuſed the moſt faithful partiſans of Hippias, who ordered them to be dragged to inſtant puniſhment. "Haſt thou ſtill other wretches to diſcover?" exclaimed the tyrant, tranſported with fury. "There are none left but thee," replies the Athenian: "I die, and enjoy in death the ſatisfaction of having deprived thee of thy beſt friends [g]."

From that moment, Hippias abandoned himſelf to the perpetration of every kind of injuſtice [h]; but the yoke he laid heavy on the Athenians was broken three years after †. Cliſthenes, chief of the Alcmæonidæ, a powerful houſe of Athens, at all times inimical to the family of Piſiſtratus, collected all the malecontents about his perſon; and having obtained the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, by means of the Pythia of Delphi, whom he had gained over to his intereſt [i], marched againſt Hippias, and forced him to abdicate the tyranny. That prince, after wandering for ſome time with his family, repaired to the court of Darius, king of Perſia, and was at laſt killed at the battle of Marathon [k].

No ſooner had the Athenians recovered their liberty, than they rendered the higheſt honours to the memory of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Statues were erected to them in the forum [l]: it was enacted, that their names ſhould be for ever

* The year 514 before Chriſt.

[g] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 22. Senec. de Irâ, lib. 2. cap. 23. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 9.

[h] Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 59. Ariſt. Œcon. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 53.

† The year 510 before Chriſt.

[i] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 62 et 66.

[k] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 107. Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 59.

[l] Ariſt. de Rhet. lib. 1. c. 9. t. ii. p. 533. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 630. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. p. 654.

celebrated at the feſtival of the Panathenæa [m], and ſhould, on no pretext whatever, be given to ſlaves [n]. The poets eternized their glory by poems and ſongs *, ſtill ſung at banquets [o]; and very extenſive privileges were granted in perpetuity to their deſcendants [p].

Cliſthenes, who had ſo greatly contributed to the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, had ſtill to ſtruggle for many years againſt a powerful faction [q]; but at length, obtaining in the ſtate the authority to which he was entitled by his great talents, he confirmed the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Solon, which the Piſiſtratidæ had never attempted entirely to ſubvert.

Never had theſe princes, in fact, aſſumed the title of king, though they boaſted themſelves to be the deſcendants of the ancient ſovereigns of Athens [r]. If Piſiſtratus levied the tenth of the produce of the lands [s], it was the only tax he impoſed, and this his ſons reduced to a twentieth; all the three appeared to exact it leſs for their own maintenance, than for the neceſſities of the ſtate [t]: they maintained the laws of Solon as much by their example as by their authority. Piſiſtratus, accuſed of murder, appeared, like the loweſt citizen, to take his trial before the areopagus [u]. In a word, they preſerved the eſſential parts of the ancient conſtitution [x]; the ſenate, the aſſemblies of the people, and the offices of magiſtracy, with which they were careful to inveſt themſelves [y], and whoſe prerogatives they laboured to extend. It was as chief magiſtrates, therefore, as perpetual chiefs of a democratic ſtate, that they acted, and acquired ſo much influence over

[m] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 344. Philoſtr. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 283.

[n] Aul. Gell. lib. 9. cap. 2.

* See note IV. at the end of the volume.

[o] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1220. Id. in Acharn. v. 977. Schol. ibid. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 14. p. 692.

[p] Iſæus de Hered. Dicæog. p. 55. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 565. Dinarch. in Demoſth. p. 136.

[q] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 66.

[r] Laert. in Solon. § 53. Reinecc. Hiſt. Jul. t. i. p. 465.

[s] Laert. ibid. Suid. in Sphacel.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 54.

[u] Ariſt. de Rep. l. 5. c. 12. p. 411. Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

[x] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59.

[y] Thucydid. ut ſupra.

the public deliberations. The moſt abſolute power was exerciſed under apparently legal forms, and the enſlaved people had perpetually before their eyes the image of liberty; accordingly, we ſee them, after the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, without oppoſition, and without a ſtruggle, re-aſſuming their rights, which had been ſuſpended rather than deſtroyed. The changes now made by Cliſthenes in the government did not entirely bring it back to its firſt principles, as I ſhall preſently ſhow.

The recital of facts has conducted me to the times in which the Athenians ſignalized their valour againſt the Perſians. But before I proceed to this part of their hiſtory, I ſhall here give the reflections I have promiſed on the political ſyſtem of Solon.

We muſt not expect from Solon a legiſlation ſimilar to that of Lycurgus. Fortune had placed them in very different circumſtances.

The Lacedæmonians occupied a country producing every thing neceſſary for their wants [z]. The legiſlator had only to confine them to it, to prevent foreign vices from corrupting the ſpirit and purity of his inſtitutions. Athens, ſituated near the ſea, and ſurrounded by an ungrateful ſoil, was obliged continually to interchange her produce, her induſtry, her ideas and manners; with thoſe of different nations.

The reform of Lycurgus preceded that of Solon by about two centuries and a half. The Spartans, limited in their arts, their knowledge, and even in their paſſions, were leſs advanced in good and evil, than the Athenians were at the time of Solon. The latter, after having experienced all kinds of governments, were diſguſted both with ſervitude and liberty, without being able to diſpenſe with either. Induſtrious, enlightened, vain, and difficult to manage, all of them, even to the loweſt individuals, were familiarized with intrigue, ambition, and all the great paſſions that take birth in

[z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90.

the frequent commotions of a ſtate: they already poſſeſſed the vices to be found amongſt formed nations. They were remarkable likewiſe for a reſtleſs activity, and a ſickleneſs of mind, which we meet with in no other country.

The houſe of Lycurgus had long inherited the throne of Lacedæmon: the two kings who then ſhared it, commanding no reſpect, Lycurgus appeared in the eyes of the Spartans as the firſt and moſt eminent perſon in the ſtate [a]. As he could rely on his own influence, and on that of his friends, he was leſs reſtrained by thoſe conſiderations which throw a damp on genius, and circumſcribe the views of a legiſlator. Solon, a private individual, inveſted with a tranſient authority, to be employed with prudence, if he wiſhed to employ it to effect; ſurrounded by powerful factions, which he was obliged to manage, in order to preſerve their confidence; and, forewarned by the recent example of Draco, that modes of ſeverity were not ſuited to the character of the Athenians, was unable to hazard great innovations, without occaſioning ſtill greater, and again plunging the ſtate into perhaps irreparable misfortunes.

I do not ſpeak of the perſonal qualities of the two legiſlators. Nothing reſembles leſs the genius of Lycurgus than the talents of Solon, nor the vigorous mind of the former than the mild and circumſpect character of the latter. There was nothing common to them both, but the ardour with which they laboured, though by different means, to procure the happineſs of nations. Should we ſuppoſe them to have changed places, Solon would not have effected things ſo great and ſublime as Lycurgus; we may doubt whether Lycurgus would have performed ſuch beautiful things as Solon.

The latter was ſenſible of the difficulty of his undertaking; and, when aſked whether he had given the Athenians the beſt of all laws, he anſwered, The beſt they were capable of bearing [b]. He thus painted with a ſingle ſtroke the un-

[a] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 86.

tractable character of the Athenians, and the fatal conſtraint under which he laboured.

Solon was obliged to prefer the popular form of government, becauſe the people, recollecting that they had enjoyed it for ſeveral ages, would no longer ſubmit to the tyranny of the rich [c], and becauſe a nation which applies itſelf to maritime affairs always inclines ſtrongly towards a democracy [d].

In adopting this form, he ſo tempered it, as to give the idea of an oligarchy in the body of the areopagites; of an ariſtocracy in the mode of electing magiſtrates; and of a pure democracy in the liberty granted the loweſt citizens to have a ſeat in the tribunals of juſtice [e].

This conſtitution, which partook of the nature of mixed governments, was overthrown by the exceſs of power in the people, as that of the Perſians was by the exceſs of power in the prince [f].

Solon is reproached with having accelerated this corruption, by the law which beſtows indiſcriminately on all the citizens the right of adminiſtering juſtice, and by appointing them to that important function by way of lot [g]. The conſequences of ſuch a privilege were not at firſt perceived [h]; but, in the end, every one was obliged to conciliate or implore the protection of the people, who, filling all the tribunals, poſſeſſed the power of interpreting the laws, and diſpoſing at their pleaſure of the lives and fortunes of the citizens.

In tracing out the ſketch of the ſyſtem of Solon, I have ſtated the motives that engaged him to enact the law complained of. I ſhall here add, 1ſt, that it is not only adopted, but of great utility in the beſt conſtituted democracies [i]; 2dly, that Solon never could preſume that the people would abandon their labours for the ſterile pleaſure of deciding the differences of individuals. If they have ſince taken poſſeſſion

[c] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 420.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 693 et 699.
[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[h] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[i] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 416.

of the tribunals, and thereby increaſed their authority, the blame muſt fall on Pericles, who, by aſſigning an emolument to thoſe who acted as judges [k], furniſhed the poorer citizens with a more eaſy method of ſubſiſtence.

It is not in the laws of Solon that we muſt ſearch for the origin of thoſe vices that have disfigured his work; but in a ſeries of innovations, for the moſt part unneceſſary, and which it was as impoſſible to foreſee, as it would be at this day to juſtify.

After the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, Cliſthenes, to gain the favour of the people, divided into ten tribes the original four, which had compriſed the inhabitants of Attica from the days of Cecrops [l]; and fifty ſenators were annually elected by lot from each of them, by which means the number of theſe magiſtrates was increaſed to five hundred.

Theſe ten tribes had each their preſidents, their officers of police, their tribunals, their aſſemblies, and ſeparate intereſts, like ſo many little republics. To multiply theſe, and give them more activity, was to engage all the citizens, without diſtinction, to intermeddle in public affairs; it was favouring the people, who, beſides the right of naming their officers, had the greateſt influence in each tribe.

Another conſequence was, that the various companies intruſted with the collection and application of the public money, were compoſed of ten officers named by the ten tribes, which, preſenting new objects of ambition to the people, ſerved to introduce them ſtill further into the different branches of the adminiſtration.

But it is principally to the victories gained by the Athenians over the Perſians, that we muſt attribute the deſtruction of the ancient conſtitution [m]. After the battle of Platæa, it was enacted, that the citizens of the loweſt claſſes, excluded by Solon from the chief offices of the magiſtracy, ſhould

[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336.

[l] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 66 et 99. Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 418. Plut. in Per. p. 153.

[m] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336.

henceforward poſſeſs that privilege. The ſage Ariſtides, who propoſed this decree [n], gave the moſt fatal of examples to his ſucceſſors in command. It became neceſſary for them firſt to flatter, then ſervilely to crouch to the multitude.

Formerly they had diſdained to attend at the general aſſemblies; but no ſooner did government allow a gratuity of three oboli to every perſon preſent [o], than they repaired thither in crowds, keeping away the rich, as well by their numbers as their fury, and inſolently ſubſtituting their caprices for the laws.

Pericles, the moſt dangerous of thoſe leaders who paid court to the multitude, diſguſted them with buſineſs, and their little remaining virtue, by largeſſes which exhauſted the public treaſury, and, amongſt other advantages, facilitated their acceſs to the public ſpectacles [p]; and, as if he had conſpired the total overthrow of manners, in order to accelerate the downfal of the conſtitution, he reduced the areopagus to ſilence, by depriving that court of almoſt all its privileges [q].

The precautions which Solon had ſo wiſely taken to guard the great intereſts of the ſtate againſt the incongruous meaſures of an ignorant and mad populace, were then neglected, or had no effect. Let us recollect, that it was the duty of the ſenate to prepare all public buſineſs, previous to its being laid before the aſſembly of the people; that it was to be diſcuſſed only by orators of acknowledged probity, and the firſt ſuffrages given by aged men enlightened by experience. Theſe checks, ſo well calculated to repreſs the impetuoſity of the people, were all annulled by themſelves [r]. They would no longer obey any but demagogues who led them aſtray [s], and extended ſo far the limits of their authority, that, ceaſing to perceive them, they imagined that they had ceaſed to exiſt.

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[n] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 332.
[o] Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 205.
[p] Plut. in Per. p. 156.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 155.
[r] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 427.
[s] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.

Certain offices of magiſtracy, heretofore conferred only on upright men by free election, are now beſtowed by way of chance, on every claſs of citizens [t]: nay, frequently, without having recourſe to that, or any other mode of election, individuals find means, by dint of money and intrigues, to obtain employments, and even to procure admiſſion into the order of ſenators [u]. In fine, the people pronounce in the laſt reſort on ſeveral offences, the cognizance of which is either reſerved to them by the later decrees of Solon [x], or which they themſelves ſummon to their tribunal, in contempt of the ordinary courſe of juſtice [y]. By this means, the powers which had been ſo ſagely diſtributed are confounded; and the legiſlative power, executing its own laws, makes the nation every moment feel, or apprehend, the dreadful weight of oppreſſion.

Theſe deſtructive vices never would have crept into the conſtitution, had it not had inſurmountable obſtacles to overcome: but the uſurpation of the Piſiſtratidæ ſtopped its progreſs in the very origin; and its principles were ſoon after corrupted by the victories over the Perſians. To have enabled the conſtitution to defend itſelf againſt ſimilar events, it was neceſſary that a long peace, and the moſt perfect liberty, ſhould have allowed it to operate powerfully on the manners of the Athenians; without this, all the gifts of genius, united in a legiſlator, muſt have been inſufficient to prevent Piſiſtratus from being the moſt ſeducing of mankind, and the Athenians, the people the moſt open to ſeduction: they could not have prevented the brilliant ſucceſſes of Marathon, of Salamis, and Platæa, from inſpiring with the moſt extravagant preſumption the people in the world moſt ſuſceptible of ſuch folly.

From the effects produced by the inſtitutions of Solon, we may judge of thoſe they would have produced in happier cir-

[t] Iſocr. Areop. t. 1. p. 341.
[u] Æſchin. in Timar. p. 276. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 437.
[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 450.
[y] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 369.

cumſtances. Confined as they were in their operation under the tyranny of the Piſiſtratidæ, they acted ſlowly on the minds of men, either from the advantages of an education common at that time, and which is ſo no longer [z]; or from the influence of the republican forms, which perpetually cheriſhed the illuſion, and the hope of liberty. Scarcely were thoſe princes baniſhed, before the democracy was re-eſtabliſhed of itſelf, and the Athenians diſplayed a character of which they had never hitherto been ſuſpected. From this epocha to that of their corruption, only about half a century elapſed; but virtue and the laws were ſtill reſpected in that happy period: the wiſeſt men never ſpeak of it but with eulogies, accompanied with regret; and can diſcover no other remedy for the evils of the ſtate, but the revival of the government of Solon [a].

SECT. II.

AGE OF THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES [b].

It is with pain that I prevail on myſelf to deſcribe campaigns and battles; it ſhould ſuffice to know, that war originate in the ambition of princes, and terminate in the miſery of nations: but the example of a people preferring death to ſervitude, is too ſublime, and too inſtructive to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Cyrus had lately raiſed the Perſian power on the ruins of the empires of Babylon and Lydia; he had received the homage of Arabia, of Egypt, and the moſt diſtant nations [b]; and his ſon Cambyſes had ſubjected Cyrenaica, and many countries of Africa [c].

After the death of the latter prince, ſome Perſian nobles, to the number of ſeven, having put to death one of the magi

[z] Arift. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 449.

[a] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 319. Æſch. in Ctesiph. p. 427.

[b] From the year 490 to about 444 before Christ.

[b] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. p. 2; lib. 8. p. 230.

[c] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 7, 13, &c.

who had uſurped the throne, aſſembled in order to ſettle the government of this extenſive empire [d]. Othanes propoſed to reſtore liberty, and eſtabliſh a general democracy; Megabyzus extolled the advantages of ariſtocracy; Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, declared himſelf for the conſtitution which had hitherto ſecured the happineſs and glory of the Perſians: his opinion prevailed; and chance, to which it was agreed to ſubmit the choice of a ſovereign, deciding, by his artifices, in his favour, he found himſelf the undiſturbed poſſeſſor of the moſt powerful empire in the world, and, after the example of the ancient monarchs of the Aſſyrians, aſſumed the title of the great king, and that of king of kings*.

Advanced to this exalted ſtation, he ſtill knew to reſpect the laws, diſcern merit, receive counſel, and acquire friends. Zopyrus, ſon of Megabyzus, was the friend whom he loved with the moſt tenderneſs. Some perſon having taken the liberty to propoſe one day the following queſtion to Darius, who held a pomegranate in his hand: "What good is there you would wiſh to multiply as often as that fruit contains ſeeds?" "Such friends as Zopyrus," replied the king, without heſitation [e]. This anſwer threw Zopyrus into one of thoſe paroxyſms of zeal, to be juſtified only by the ſentiment that gives them birth †.

Darius had been beſieging Babylon, which had revolted, during nineteen months [f], and was on the point of abandoning his enterpriſe, when Zopyrus appeared in his preſence, without noſe or ears, and with every part of his body mutilated and covered with wounds. "What barbarous hand has reduced you to this pitiable condition?" exclaimed the king, running towards him. "It is my own act," replied Zopyrus. "I am going to Babylon, where my name, and the rank I hold in your court, are well known: I will accuſe you of having puniſhed, by the moſt undeſerved and odious cruelties, the

d Id. lib. 3. cap. 80.
* The year 521 before Chriſt.
e Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.
f Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 151.

† According to Herodotus, lib. 4. cap. 143, Darius did not name Zopyrus, but Megabyzus, father of that young Perſian.

advice I gave you to retire from before the city. A body of troops will be intruſted to my command; you will ſacrifice ſome of yours, and facilitate ſucceſſes which will more and more acquire me the confidence of the enemy: I ſhall be able to make myſelf maſter of the gates, and Babylon ſhall be yours!" Darius was filled with grief and admiration. The project of Zopyrus ſucceeded. His friend loaded him with careſſes and bounties: but often ſaid; I would have given a hundred Babylons to have ſaved Zopyrus from ſo barbarous a treatment [g].

From this ſenſibility, ſo amiable in an individual, ſo precious in a ſovereign, reſulted that clemency the vanquiſhed ſo often experienced on the part of this prince, and the gratitude with which he rewarded, with kingly munificence, the ſervices he had received as an individual [h]. Hence originated likewiſe that moderation which ſhone forth in the moſt rigorous acts of his authority. Before his time the revenues of the crown conſiſted only in the voluntary offerings of his ſubjects; offerings received by Cyrus with the tenderneſs of a father, but exacted by Cambyſes with the haughtineſs of a maſter [i]; and which in future the ſovereign might have multiplied at his pleaſure. Darius divided his kingdom into twenty governments or ſatrapies, and ſubmitted the quota of contributions he propoſed to draw from each province to the examination of the perſons placed over them. All theſe governors exclaimed againſt the ſmallneſs of the tributes. But the king, diſtruſtful of their counſel, took care to reduce them to the half [k].

The various parts of the adminiſtration were regulated by wiſe laws [l], which maintained that harmony and peace among the Perſians which ſupport a ſtate; and individuals found, in the ſecurity of their rights and poſſeſſions, the only equality they can poſſibly enjoy in a monarchy.

g Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.
h Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 140.
i Id. ibid. cap. 89.
k Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
l Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 695.

Darius rendered his reign illuſtrious by uſeful inſtitutions, and tarniſhed it by conqueſts. Born with military talents; idolized by his troops [m]; intrepidly-courageous in the time of action, but cool and unruffled in the moment of danger [n], he ſubdued almoſt as many nations as Cyrus himſelf [o].

His forces, his victories, and that flattery which conſtantly waits on thrones, perſuaded him, that a word from him ought to compel the homage of nations; and as he was as capable of executing as of forming great projects, he might defer, but never totally abandoned them.

Intending to ſpeak of the immenſe reſources he poſſeſſed, to add Greece to the number of his conqueſts, I choſe to premiſe ſome features of his character, for a ſovereign is ſtill more powerful by his perſonal qualities than by his power.

The power of the Perſian monarch was almoſt unlimited. His empire, the extent of which in certain places is about 21,164 ſtadia * from eaſt to weſt, and about 7936 † from north to ſouth, may contain in ſuperficies 115,618,000 ſquare ſtadia ‡; whilſt the ſurface of Greece, conſiſting at moſt of 1,366,000 ſquare ſtadia §, forms but the 115th part of that of Perſia. The latter comprifes a number of provinces ſituated under the happieſt climate, fertilized by vaſt rivers, adorned by flouriſhing cities, rich from the nature of the ſoil [p], the induſtry of the inhabitants, the activity of commerce, and a population favoured at once by religion, the laws, and rewards appropriated to fecundity.

The taxes levied in money [q] amounted to ſomething more than 14,560 Euboeic talents ‖. Theſe were not intended to defray the current expences ¶; but converted into ingots [r],

[m] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 695.
[n] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
[o] Id. ibid.
* 800 French leagues of 2500 toiſes each.
† 300 leagues.
‡ 165,200 ſquare leagues.
§ 1952 ſquare leagues. (*Manuſcript note of M. d'Anville.*).
[p] Xenophon. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 296. Arrian. Hiſt. Indic. p. 355.
[q] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 95.
‖ About 90 millions of livres (or 3,750,000 pounds Sterling).
¶ See note V. at the end of the volume.
[r] Herodot. ibid. cap. 96.

and reſerved for extraordinary occaſions. The provinces were called upon for the maintenance of the royal houſehold and the ſubſiſtence of the armies [s]: ſome furniſhed corn [t], others horſes [u]; Armenia alone was charged with an annual ſupply of twenty thouſand colts [x]. Other ſatrapies contributed flocks of cattle, wool, ebony, elephants teeth, and various kinds of productions [y].

Troops diſperſed over the provinces retained them in obedience, or ſecured them againſt invaſion [z]. Another army, compoſed of the beſt ſoldiers, watched over the perſonal ſafety of the prince: among them ſtood particularly diſtinguiſhed a body of ten thouſand men, called the immortals, as their number was always intended to be complete [a]; no other corps dared to diſpute with them, either the honour of precedency, or the reward of valour.

Cyrus had introduced a diſcipline into the armies [b], which his firſt ſucceſſors carefully maintained. Every year the ſovereign ordered a general review, and made himſelf exactly acquainted with the ſtate of the troops near his perſon. Intelligent and faithful inſpectors were ſent to exerciſe the ſame functions at a diſtance. The officers who fulfilled their duty obtained rewards; and thoſe who were found guilty of negligence were deprived of their command [c].

The nation of the Perſians, the firſt nation of the Eaſt, ſince it had produced Cyrus, conſidered valour as the moſt eminent of qualities [d], and conſequently eſteemed it in its enemies [e]. To brave the rigour of the ſeaſons, to endure long and arduous marches, to caſt the javelin, to ſwim torrents, were infant ſports with the Perſians [f]; to which, in a more

[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 192.
[t] Id. lib. 3. cap 91.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 90.
[x] Strab. lib. 11. p. 530.
[y] Herodot. ibid. cap. 97. Strab. lib. 15. p. 735.
[z] Herodot. ibid. cap. 90, 91. Xenoph. Cycrop. lib. 8. p. 230.
[a] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7. Heſych. et Suid. in Ἀθάν.
[b] Xenoph. Cycrop. lib. 8. p. 225.
[c] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 828.
[d] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 136.
[e] Id. lib. 7. cap. 181.
[f] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 15. p. 732.

advanced age, they added the chaſe, and other exerciſes conducive to bodily ſtrength [g]. In peace they appeared with part of the arms uſually borne in war [h]; and, not to loſe the habit of riding on horſeback, they ſcarcely ever went on foot [i]. Theſe manners inſenſibly became thoſe of the whole empire.

The principal ſtrength of the Perſian armies conſiſts in their cavalry. Even in their flight they let fly their arrows which arreſt the impetuoſity of the victor [k]. Both horſe and horſemen are covered with braſs and iron [l]: Media furniſhes horſes famous for their ſize, ſtrength, and ſpeed [m].

At the age of twenty, every man is obliged to enrol his name in the militia; he ceaſes to ſerve at fifty [n]. At the firſt command of the ſovereign, all who are appointed to make the campaign, muſt, in a limited time, reſort to the place of rendezvous. The laws in this reſpect are dreadfully ſevere. Unhappy fathers have ſometimes requeſted, as a reward for their paſt ſervices, to retain their children with them at home, as the ſupport of their old age: I will diſpenſe with their accompanying me, replied the prince, and immediately ordered them to be put to death [o].

The eaſtern kings never march on any expedition without being attended by prodigious armies. They think it eſſential to their dignity to ſhow themſelves on theſe occaſions with all the pageantry of ſtate: they imagine that victory is decided by the number of ſoldiers, and that by collecting the greateſt part of their forces about their perſon they ſhall prevent any diſturbances that might happen during their abſence. But if theſe armies do not carry all before them, by the ſudden terror

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[g] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. p. 5.
[h] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. t. i. p. 874. Marcellin. lib. 23. p. 383.
[i] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 4. p. 102; lib. 8. p. 241.
[k] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 306. Plut. in Craſſ. t. i. p. 558.
[l] Briſſon. de Reg. Perſ. lib. 3. cap. 33, &c.
[m] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 106. Id. lib. 7. cap. 40. Arrian. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 77. Briſſon. ibid. cap. 29.
[n] Strab. lib. 15. p. 734.
[o] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 84; lib. 7. cap. 39. Senec. de Irâ, l. 3. c. 16 et 17.

they inſpire, or by the firſt ſhock of their attack, they are ſoon compelled to retire, either from the want of ſubſiſtence, or the diſcouragement of the troops; for which reaſon we often ſee the wars of Aſia terminate in a ſingle campaign, and the fate of an empire depend on the iſſue of a battle.

The kings of Perſia enjoy an abſolute authority, ſecured by the reſpect of nations accuſtomed to venerate them as living images of the divinity [p]. Their birth is a day of feſtivity [q]; and at their death, emblematically to ſignify that the world has loſt the principle of light and laws, care is taken to extinguiſh the ſacred fire, and to ſhut up the tribunals of juſtice [r]. During their reign, individuals offer no ſacrifices, without addreſſing their vows to heaven for the ſovereign, as well as for the nation. All, without excepting the tributary princes, the governors of provinces, and the nobles reſiding at the porte (or gate *), call themſelves the ſlaves of the king; a term at this day expreſſive of extreme ſervitude, but which, in the days of Cyrus and Darius, was only a teſtimonial of loyal affection and zeal.

Until the reign of the latter of theſe princes, the Perſians had no motives of difference with the nations of the Grecian continent. Scarcely did the court of Suſa know that ſuch cities as Lacedæmon or Athens exiſted [s], when Darius reſolved to ſubjugate thoſe diſtant countries. Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, whom he had lately married, gave him the firſt idea of this expedition, which ſhe had received from a Greek phyſician named Democedes, who had cured her of a dangerous diſorder. Democedes, unable to procure his liberty by other means, formed the project of an invaſion in Greece: he perſuaded the queen to approve his plan, and flattered him-

[p] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 125.
[q] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 121.
[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. p. 580 Stob. Serm. 42. p. 294. Briſſon. de Reg. Perſ. p. 54.

* This word was uſed to ſignify the court of the kings of Perſia. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8. p. 201, 203, &c. Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 294.
[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 153; lib. 5. cap. 73 et 105.

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ſelf, that, by obtaining a commiſſion, he ſhould facilitate the means of viſiting Crotona his native country.

Atoſſa, taking advantage of a moment in which Darius was expreſſing his affection for her, thus addreſſed him: "It is time to ſignalize your acceſſion to the crown by an enterpriſe which ſhall acquire you the eſteem of your ſubjects [t]. The Perſians muſt have a conqueror for their ſovereign. Employ their reſtleſs ardour againſt foreign nations, if you would not that they ſhould direct it againſt yourſelf." Darius replied, that he propoſed to make war againſt the Scythians. "The Scythians," replied the queen, "will be an eaſy conqueſt whenever you think proper. I wiſh you to turn your arms againſt Greece, and to bring me back ſome women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, of Corinth, and of Athens, to wait my commands." From that moment Darius ſuſpended his project againſt the Scythians, and ſent Democedes with five Perſians to bring him an exact deſcription of the country of which he meditated the conqueſt.

No ſooner had Democedes quitted the dominions of Darius, than he fled to Italy. The Perſians, of whom he was to be the guide, ſuffered various misfortunes, and, when they returned to Suſa, the queen was cooled in the deſire of having Greek ſlaves, and Darius was occupied with more important cares.

The king having reduced the city of Babylon to obedience, reſolved to march againſt the nations of Scythia *, who encamp with their flocks and herds between the Iſter † and the Tanais, on the borders of the Euxine ſea.

He began his march at the head of ſeven hundred thouſand ſoldiers [u], to offer ſervitude to a people, who, to ruin his army, had only to draw it into uncultivated and deſert countries. Darius perſiſted in following them, and ran over extenſive ſolitudes as a victor. "And why flieſt thou at my

[t] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 134.
* The year 508 before Chriſt.
† The Danube.
[u] Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 5.

approach?" ſent he one day to aſk of the king of the Scythians. "If thou art able to reſiſt me, ſtop, and bravely fight; if thou dareſt not, acknowledge thy maſter." The king of the Scythians replied: "I neither fly nor fear any man. It is our cuſtom to wander quietly over our vaſt domains, during war, as well as in time of peace: we know no bleſſing but liberty, and acknowledge no maſters but the gods. If thou wouldſt prove our valour, follow us, and come and inſult the tombs of our anceſtors [x]."

In the mean time the army was enfeebled by ſickneſs, the want of proviſions, and the difficulty of the marches. It became neceſſary to reſolve on regaining the bridge which Darius had thrown over the Iſter, the guard of which he had intruſted to the Greeks of Ionia, with a permiſſion to retire home, if they did not ſee him return within two months [y]. When this time had expired, ſeveral bodies of Scythians appeared more than once on the banks of the river [z]: at firſt they employed entreaties, and afterwards had recourſe to menaces, to induce the officers of the fleet to carry it back to Ionia. Miltiades the Athenian ſtrongly recommended this meaſure; but Hiſtiæus of Miletus, repreſenting [a] to the other chiefs, that, appointed as they had been by Darius governors of the different cities of Ionia, they would be reduced to the condition of ſimple individuals were they to ſuffer the king to periſh, they promiſed the Scythians to break down the bridge, but determined to remain. This determination ſaved Darius and his army.

The diſgrace of the Scythian expedition was ſoon effaced by an important conqueſt. The king obliged the nations inhabiting the banks of the Indus to acknowledge themſelves his ſubjects; and that river became the limits of his empire to the eaſt [b].

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[x] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 127.
[y] Id. lib. 4. cap. 98.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 133.
[a] Herod. lib. 4. cap. 133. Nep. in Miltiad. c. 3.
[b] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 44.

To the weſt it was bounded by a ſeries of Greek colonies ſettled on the coaſts of the Ægean ſea. There ſtood Epheſus, Miletus, Smyrna, and ſeveral flouriſhing cities, aſſociated in different confederations. Theſe are ſeparated from the continent of Greece by the ſea, and a number of iſlands, ſome of which were ſubject to the Athenians, and others independent. The Grecian cities of Aſia aſpired to ſhake off the Perſian yoke; while the inhabitants of the iſlands, and of Greece, properly ſo called, dreaded the vicinity of a power which menaced the nations with general ſervitude.

Theſe fears were greatly increaſed when they ſaw Darius, at his return from Scythia, leave an army of eighty thouſand men in Thrace, which ſubjected that kingdom [c], obliged the king of Macedonia to do homage to Darius for his crown [d], and took poſſeſſion of the iſles of Lemnos and of Imbros [e].

Still more were they alarmed when they ſaw the Perſians make an attempt upon the iſle of Naxos, and threaten the iſland of Eubœa, contiguous to Attica [f]. The cities of Ionia, now reſolved to endeavour the recovery of their ancient liberty, expelled their governors [g], burnt the city of Sardes, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia [h], and drew the people of Caria and the iſle of Cyprus into the league they had formed againſt Darius [i]. This revolt * was in fact the ſeed of thoſe wars which were on the point of effecting the utter deſtruction of all the powers of Greece, and which one hundred and fifty years after overthrew the Perſian empire.

The Lacedæmonians refuſed to accede to the league; the Athenians, without openly declaring themſelves, determined to favour it. The king of Perſia no longer diſſembled his deſire to extend the boundaries of his empire on their ſide. They owed to the greateſt part of the cities which had recently withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to him, the

[c] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[d] Id. lib 5. cap. 18.
[e] Id. ibid cap. 26.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 31.
[g] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 37.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 102.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 103.
* Towards the year 504 before C.

aſſiſtance due from a mother-country to her colonies: they had long complained of the protection granted by the Perſians to Hippias, ſon of Piſiſtratus, whom they had baniſhed for his tyranny. Artaphernes, brother of Darius, and ſatrap of Lydia, had declared to them, that the only method of providing for their ſafety, was to recal Hippias [k]; and they knew that the latter, ſince his reſidence at the court of Suſa, fomented in the mind of Darius thoſe prejudices inceſſantly inſpired into him againſt the nations of Greece, and in particular againſt the Athenians [l]. Actuated by theſe motives, the Athenians ſent troops into Ionia, which aſſiſted in the taking of Sardes. Their example was followed by the Eretrians of Eubœa.

The principal author of the inſurrection in Ionia was that Hiſtiæus of Miletus, who, in the Scythian expedition, had perſiſted in guarding the bridge over the Iſter; an important ſervice which Darius never forgot, but remembered even after he had rewarded it.

But Hiſtiæus, conſidering himſelf as an exile at the court of Suſa, and impatient to reviſit his country, ſecretly excited the troubles of Ionia, and made uſe of them to obtain permiſſion to return into that province, where he was ſoon after taken in arms. The generals loſt no time in putting him to death, knowing as they did the generoſity of their maſter; and in fact that prince, leſs irritated at his treachery, than impreſſed with a ſenſe of the obligations he owed him, honoured his memory by funeral obſequies, and ſeverely cenſured his generals for their haſty ſentence [m].

About the ſame time, ſome Phœnician veſſels having taken an Athenian galley, found in it Metiochus, ſon of that Miltiades who had adviſed the breaking of the bridge over the Iſter, by which Darius would have been abandoned to the fury of the Scythians: they ſent him to the king, who re-

[k] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 96.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 30.

ceived him with diſtinction, and engaged him by his bounties to take up his reſidence in Perſia [n].

Not that Darius was inſenſible to the revolt of the Ionians, and the conduct of the Athenians. On being informed of the burning of Sardes, he vowed to take exemplary vengeance on the latter people; and charged one of his officers daily to remind him of the injury he had received from them [o]: but it was firſt neceſſary to conclude the war excited againſt him by the former. It continued during ſeveral years, and ended greatly to the advantage of the Perſians. Ionia was again reduced to obedience, and ſeveral iſlands of the Ægean ſea and all the cities of the Helleſpont ſubmitted to the king [p].

Mardonius, his ſon-in-law, immediately departed at the head of a powerful army, and having completely re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in Ionia, repaired into Macedonia, and there, whether anticipating the orders of Darius, or merely obeying them, he embarked his troops. His pretext was to puniſh the Athenians and Eretrians; his real object to render all Greece tributary [q]: but a violent tempeſt having daſhed part of his veſſels and ſoldiers on the rocks of Mount Athos, he returned to Macedonia, and ſoon after to Suſa.

This diſaſter was not ſuch as to divert the ſtorm then impending over Greece. Darius, previous to proceeding to an open rupture, ſent heralds to the different countries he had determined to invade, to demand, in his name, earth and water [r]; which is the formulary employed by the Perſians to exact the homage of nations. The greater part of the iſlands and ſtates of the continent ſubmitted without heſitation: the Athenians and Lacedæmonians not only refuſed, but, by a manifeſt violation of the laws of nations, threw the ambaſſadors of the king into a deep dungeon [s]. The former carried their indignation ſtill further: they condemned the inter-

[n] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 41.
[o] Id. lib. 5. cap. 105.
[p] Id. lib. 6. cap. 31 et 33.
[q] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 44.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 48.
[s] Id. lib. 7. cap. 32.

preter to die, who had ſullied the Grecian language, by explaining the orders of a barbarian [t].

On this intelligence, Darius gave the command of his forces to a Mede, named Datis, who had more experience than Mardonius, ordering him to deſtroy the cities of Athens and Eretria, and to bring him the inhabitants laden with chains [u].

The army preſently aſſembled in one of the plains of Cilicia; whence it was tranſported by ſix hundred veſſels into the iſland of Eubœa. The city of Eretria, after a vigorous defence of ſix days, was taken by the treachery of ſome citizens who had influence over the people [x]. The temples were demoliſhed, the inhabitants loaded with chains; and the fleet immediately making a deſcent upon the coaſt of Attica, landed near the village of Marathon, about one hundred and forty ſtadia * from Athens, a hundred thouſand infantry, and ten thouſand cavalry [y]: they encamped in a plain terminated toward the eaſt by the ſea, ſhut in by mountains on every other ſide, and about two hundred ſtadia in circumference †.

In the mean time Athens was in the utmoſt conſternation and diſmay [z]. She had implored the aſſiſtance of the other nations of Greece; but ſome had ſubmitted to Darius, and others trembled at the very name of the Medes or Perſians [a]. The Lacedæmonians alone promiſed troops, but various obſtacles did not allow them immediately to form a junction with thoſe of Athens [b].

This city, therefore, could only rely on its own ſtrength. And how ſhould ſhe, with a few ſoldiers haſtily levied, dare to reſiſt a power, which in the ſpace of half a century had overthrown the greateſt empires of the world? Though by the ſacrifice of her moſt illuſtrious citizens, and her braveſt warriors, ſhe ſhould obtain the honour of diſputing, for ſome

[t] Plut. in Them. p. 114. Ariſtid. Panath. Orat. t. i. p. 211.
[u] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 94.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 101.
* Near ſix leagues.
[y] Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.
† About ſeven leagues and a half.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[a] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 112.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 106. Plat. ibid. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.

time, the victory, would ſhe not ſoon ſee armies more formidable than the firſt, iſſue from the Aſiatic coaſts, and from the heart of Perſia? The Greeks have irritated Darius, and, by adding inſult to their offence, have left him no choice but vengeance, diſhonour, or a pardon. Would the homage he requires involve an humiliating ſervitude? Do not the Grecian colonies eſtabliſhed in his ſtates retain their laws, their religious worſhip, and their poſſeſſions? Has ſhe not after their revolt obliged them, by the wiſeſt regulations, to unite among themſelves, and to be happy in deſpite of their diſſenſions? And has not Mardonius himſelf recently eſtabliſhed the democracy in the cities of Ionia [c]?

Theſe reflections, which induced the nations of Greece in general to declare in favour of the Perſians, were counterbalanced, in the minds of the Athenians, by not leſs weighty apprehenſions. The general of Darius with one hand held out the fetters with which he had orders to enchain them [d], and with the other preſented them that Hippias, whoſe ſolicitations and intrigues had at length conducted the Perſians into the plains of Marathon [e]. They muſt reſolve, therefore, to ſubmit to the wretched indignity of being dragged like vile ſlaves to the feet of Darius, or to the ſtill more dreadful fate of again groaning under the cruelties of a tyrant breathing nothing but vengeance. In this alternative ſcarcely did they deliberate, but reſolved to periſh at leaſt in arms.

Happily at this moment there appeared three men, deſtined to give new energy to the ſtate. Theſe were Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles. Their characters will beſt diſplay themſelves in the narrative of their actions. Miltiades had long carried on war in Thrace, where he had acquired a ſplendid reputation; Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, younger than himſelf, had, from their infancy, manifeſted a rivalry, which would have been the ruin of the ſtate [f], had they not ſacri-

[c] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 42 et 43.
[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 102.
[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 319.

ficed it, on all emergent occaſions, to the public welfare. A ſingle ſtroke is ſufficient to paint Ariſtides; he was the moſt juſt and moſt virtuous of the Athenians: but many are neceſſary to deſcribe the talents, the reſources, and the views of Themiſtocles; he loved his country, but he loved glory ſtill more than his country.

The example and harangues of theſe three illuſtrious citizens kindled the flame of the nobleſt heroiſm in the minds of the Athenians. Levies were immediately made. Each of the ten tribes furniſhed a thouſand foot ſoldiers, with a commander at their head. To complete this number, it was neceſſary to enrol the ſlaves [g]. No ſooner were the troops aſſembled, than they marched out of the city into the plain of Marathon, where the inhabitants of Platæa in Bœotia ſent them a reinforcement of a thouſand infantry [h].

Scarcely were the two armies in ſight of each other, before Miltiades propoſed to attack the enemy [i]. Ariſtides, and ſeveral of the commanders, warmly ſupported this meaſure; but the reſt, terrified at the exceſſive diſproportion of the armies, were deſirous of waiting for the ſuccours from Lacedæmon. Opinions being divided, they had recourſe to that of the polemarch, or chief of the militia, who is conſulted on ſuch occaſions, to put an end to the equality of ſuffrages. Miltiades addreſſed himſelf to him, with the ardour of a man deeply impreſſed with the importance of preſent circumſtances: "Athens," ſaid he to him, "is on the point of experiencing the greateſt of viciſſitudes. Ready to become the firſt power of Greece, or the theatre of the tyranny and fury of Hippias, from you alone, Callimachus, ſhe now awaits her deſtiny. If we ſuffer the ardour of the troops to cool, they will ſhamefully bow beneath the Perſian yoke; but if we lead them on to battle, the gods and victory will favour

[g] Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 79.
[h] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 108. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 9.
[i] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 109. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321.

us. A word from your month muſt now precipitate your country into ſlavery, or preſerve her liberty."

Callimachus gave his ſuffrage, and the battle was reſolved. To enſure ſucceſs, Ariſtides, and the other generals, after his example, yielded to Miltiades the honour of the command, which belonged to them in rotation; but to ſecure them from every hazard, he preferred waiting for the day, which of right placed him at the head of the army [k].

When that day arrived, Miltiades drew up his troops at the foot of a mountain, on a ſpot of ground ſcattered over with trees, to impede the Perſian cavalry. The Platæans were placed on the left wing; Callimachus commanded the right; Ariſtides and Themiſtocles were in the centre of the battle [l], and Miltiades every where. An interval of eight ſtadia * ſeparated the Grecian army from that of the Perſians [m].

At the firſt ſignal, the Greeks advanced over this ſpace running. The Perſians, aſtoniſhed at a mode of attack ſo novel to both nations, for a moment remained motionleſs; but to the impetuous fury of the enemy, they ſoon oppoſed a more ſedate, and no leſs formidable fury. After an obſtinate conflict of ſome hours, victory began to declare herſelf in the two wings of the Grecian army. The right diſperſed the enemy in the plain, while the left drove them back on a moraſs that had the appearance of a meadow, in which they ſtuck faſt, and were loſt [n]. Both theſe bodies of troops now flew to the ſuccour of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, ready to give way before the flower of the Perſian troops, placed by Datis in the centre of his battle. From this moment, the rout became general. The Perſians, repulſed on all ſides, found their only aſylum in the fleet, which had approached the ſhore. The conquerors purſued them with fire and ſword,

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[k] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 110. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321.
[l] Id. ibid. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.
* Nearly a mile.
[m] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 112.
[n] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 80.

and took, burnt, or ſunk, the greater part of their veſſels: the reſt eſcaped by dint of rowing [o].

The Perſian army loſt about ſix thouſand four hundred men; that of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two heroes [p]; for not a man but merited that title on this occaſion. Miltiades was wounded; Hippias was left dead on the field, as were Steſileus and Callimachus, two of the Athenian generals [q].

Scarcely was the battle over, when a ſoldier, worn out with fatigue, forms the project of carrying the firſt news of ſo ſignal a ſucceſs to the magiſtrates of Athens, and, without quitting his arms, he runs, flies, arrives, announces the victory, and falls dead at their feet [r].

This victory, nevertheleſs, would have proved fatal to the Greeks, but for the activity of Miltiades. Datis, in his retreat, had conceived the hope of ſurpriſing Athens, which he imagined to be without defence, and his fleet had already doubled cape Sunium. No ſooner was Miltiades informed of this, than he began his march, arrived the ſame day under the walls of the city, by his preſence diſconcerted the projects of the enemy, and obliged them to retire to the coaſts of Aſia [s].

The battle was fought [t] on the ſixth of Boedromion, in the third year of the ſeventy-ſecond Olympiad *. The next day, two thouſand Spartans arrived. In three days and nights [u] they had marched twelve hundred ſtadia †. Though informed of the defeat of the Perſians, they continued their march to Marathon, nor did they enviouſly ſhun to behold thoſe fields where a rival nation had ſignalized itſelf by ſo heroic an action; they there beheld the tents of the Perſians ſtill ſtanding, the plain ſtrewed over with dead, and covered with

[o] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 115. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 9.
[p] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 117.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 114.
[r] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 347.
[s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 116.
[t] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. iii. p. 149.
* The 29th September, of the year 490 before Chriſt.
[u] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 163. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
† About 46 leagues and a half.

coſtly ſpoils: they there found Ariſtides, who, with his tribe, was guarding the priſoners and booty, and did not retire until they had beſtowed juſt applauſes on the victors [x].

The Athenians neglected nothing to eternize the memory of thoſe who fell in the battle. Honourable funerals were beſtowed on them; their names were engraven on half columns erected on the plain of Marathon. Theſe monuments, not excepting thoſe of the generals Callimachus and Steſileus, are in a ſtyle of the greateſt ſimplicity [y]. In the intervals between them were erected trophies, bearing the arms of the Perſians. An artiſt of eminence had painted all the circumſtances of the battle, in one of the moſt frequented porticos of the city: Miltiades was there repreſented at the head of the generals, and in the act of exhorting the troops to fight for their country [z].

Darius received the news of the defeat of his army with indignation; and every one trembled for the fate of the Eretrians, whom Datis was conducting to his feet. But no ſooner did he behold them than pity ſuperſeded every other ſentiment in his heart [a]: he diſtributed lands among them at ſome diſtance from Suſa; and, to avenge himſelf of the Greeks in a manner more noble, and more worthy of himſelf, immediately ordered freſh levies, and made immenſe preparations.

The Athenians themſelves were not long before they revenged his diſgrace on their general. They had raiſed Miltiades ſo high, that he began to be the object of their fear. Jealouſy ſuggeſted, that, during his command in Thrace, he had exerciſed all the rights of ſovereignty [b]; that, formidable as he was to foreign nations, and idolized by the Athenian people, it was time to keep a vigilant eye on his virtues, as well as his glory. The ill ſucceſs of an expedition he had undertaken againſt the iſle of Paros, furniſhed a new pretext

[x] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 120. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 321. Id. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 79.
[z] Nep. in Milt. cap. 6.
[a] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 119.
[b] Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

to the hatred of his enemies. He was accuſed of ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by Perſian money, and, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of the moſt virtuous citizens, was condemned to be thrown into the dungeon in which malefactors are left to periſh [c]. The magiſtracy oppoſing the execution of this infamous decree, his puniſhment was commuted into a fine of fifty talents; and, as he was unable to pay this ſum, Athens ſaw the vanquiſher of Darius expire in chains, of the wounds he had received in the ſervice of the ſtate [d].

Theſe dreadful examples of injuſtice and ingratitude on the part of a ſovereign or a nation, diſcourage neither ambition nor virtue. They are ſhoals in the track of honour, like rocks in the midſt of the ocean. Themiſtocles and Ariſtides aſſumed over the Athenians that ſuperiority which the one merited by the diverſity of his talents, and the other by the uniformity of a conduct wholly devoted to the public good. The former, agitated day and night by the recollection of the trophies of Miltiades [e]; never ceaſed, by new decrees, to flatter the pride of a people intoxicated with their victory; the latter employed himſelf only in maintaining the laws and manners, to which they were indebted for it. Theſe two men, diametrically oppoſite in their principles and projects, ſo filled the place of aſſembly with their diſſenſions, that Ariſtides, after having one day gained an advantage over his adverſary, contrary to all reaſon, could not refrain from ſaying, that the republic was ruined, if both Themiſtocles and himſelf were not thrown into a dungeon [f].

Talents and intrigue at length triumphed over virtue. As Ariſtides offered himſelf as the arbitrator of the differences of individuals, the reputation of his juſtice cauſed the tribunals to be almoſt deſerted. The faction of Themiſtocles ac-

[c] Plat. in Gorg. t. ii. p. 516.
[d] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 136. Nep. in Milt. cap. 7.
[e] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 113.
[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 320.

cuſed him of erecting in his own perſon a ſovereign power, the more to be dreaded, as it was founded on the love of the people, and called for the puniſhment of exile. The tribes aſſembled, and were to give their ſuffrages in writing. Ariſtides was preſent while they voted, when an obſcure citizen, ſeated beſide him, deſired him to write the name of the accuſed on a ſmall ſhell, which he preſented for that purpoſe. "Has he done you any injury?" ſaid Ariſtides. "No," anſwered this ſtranger; "but I am diſguſted with hearing him every where called *the Juſt*." Ariſtides wrote his name, was condemned, and departed from the city, offering up prayers for the proſperity of his country [g].

His baniſhment took place ſhortly after the death of Darius. That prince at once menaced Greece, which had refuſed to ſubmit to the Perſian yoke, and Egypt, which had ſhaken it off [h]. His ſon Xerxes was the heir to his throne *, without inheriting any of his great qualities. Educated in a high opinion of his power; juſt and beneficent by fallies; unjuſt and cruel from weakneſs; almoſt always incapable of bearing with moderation either ſucceſs or the reverſe of fortune, the only diſtinctive features that conſtantly marked his character, were extreme violence [i] and exceſſive puſillanimity.

After puniſhing the Egyptians for their revolt, and fooliſhly aggravating the weight of their chains [k], he would perhaps have peaceably enjoyed his vengeance, but for one of thoſe baſe courtiers who ſacrifice, without remorſe, the blood of thouſands to their own private intereſts, Mardonius, whom the honour of eſpouſing the ſiſter of his maſter [l] had inſpired with the moſt extravagant pretenſions, wiſhed to command armies, to efface the diſhonour he had ſuffered in his former expedition, and bring Greece under ſubjection, that he might

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[g] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 322. Nep. in Ariſtid. cap. 1.
[h] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 1.
* The year 485 before Chriſt.
[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[k] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 7.
[l] Id. lib. 6. cap. 43.

become its governor, and indulge his love of rapine. He eaſily perſuaded Xerxes to undertake the uniting of that country and the reſt of Europe to the empire of the Perſians [m]. War was determined on, ond all Aſia thrown into commotion.

To the prodigious preparations made by Darius, were added others ſtill more tremendous. Four years [n] were employed in levying troops, forming magazines on the road the army was to paſs, conveying to the ſea coaſts warlike ſtores and proviſions, and building galleys and tranſport veſſels in all the ports.

At length the king departed from Suſa, perſuaded that he was about to extend the limits of his empire, even to thoſe climes where the ſun finiſhes his courſe [o]. On his arrival at Sardis in Lydia, he ſent heralds through all Greece, except to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. Their commiſſion was to receive the homage of the iſlands, and the nations of the continent, many of whom ſubmitted to the Perſians [p].

In the ſpring of the fourth year of the ſeventy-fourth Olympiad *, Xerxes repaired to the ſhores of the Helleſpont, with the moſt numerous army that ever had laid waſte the earth [q]. He there wiſhed to contemplate, at one view, the ſpectacle of his power; and, from a lofty throne, beheld the ſea covered with his ſhips, and the land overſpread with his army [r].

The coaſt of Aſia, at this place, is ſeparated from that of Europe [s] only by an arm of the ſea, ſeven ſtadia in breadth †. Two bridges of boats, ſecured by anchors, joined the oppoſite ſhores. The building of theſe had been at firſt intruſted to ſome Egyptians and Phœnicians. A violent tempeſt hav-

[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 5. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. p. 1.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 20.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[p] Id. lib. 7. cap. 32. Diod. Sic lib. 11. p. 2.

* The year 480 before Chriſt.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 20.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 44.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 34. Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 747.
† See note VI. at the end of the vol

ing deſtroyed their work, Xerxes ordered the heads of the workmen to be ſtruck off; and treating the ſea as a revolted ſlave, commanded it to be ſcourged, marked with a hot iron, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it [t]; yet was this prince followed by ſeveral millions of men!

His troops employed ſeven days and nights in paſſing the ſtrait [u]; his baggage a whole month [x]. Thence taking his courſe by Thrace, and coaſting along the ſea [y], he arrived in the plain of Doriſcus, watered by the Hebrus, a convenient ſituation, not only to give repoſe to, and procure refreſhments for his ſoldiers, but to facilitate the muſtering and review of the army.

This was found to conſiſt of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſe [z]. Twenty thouſand Arabs and Libyans conducted the camels and the waggons. Xerxes, mounted on a car, paſſed through all the ranks; he next went on board the fleet, which had approached the ſhore, and was compoſed of twelve hundred and ſeven galleys with three benches of oars [a]. Each of them would contain two hundred men, and the whole together two hundred and forty-one thouſand four hundred men. They were accompanied by three thouſand tranſport veſſels, in which it may be preſumed there were two hundred and forty thouſand more.

Such were the forces he had brought from Aſia; and theſe were ſoon augmented by three hundred thouſand fighting men from Thrace, Macedonia, Pæonia, and other European countries which had ſubmitted to the Perſian power. The neighbouring iſlands furniſhed upwards of a hundred and twenty galleys, containing twenty-four thouſand men [b]. If to this immenſe multitude we add an almoſt equal number of neceſſary or uſeleſs hands, who followed the army, we ſhall find

t Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 35.
u Id. ibid. cap. 56.
x Id. lib. 8. cap. 51.
y Id. lib. 7. cap. 59.
z Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 60 et 87.
a Id. lib. 7. cap. 100 et 184. Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 166.
b Id. ibid. cap. 185.

that five millions of men [c] had been torn from their native homes, and were preparing to deſtroy whole nations, to gratify the ambition of an individual named Mardonius.

After the review of the army and the fleet, Xerxes ſent for king Demaratus, who, having been exiled ſome years before from Lacedæmon, had found an aſylum at the court of Suſa.

"Do you imagine," ſaid he, "that the Greeks will dare to reſiſt my forces [d]?" Demaratus having obtained permiſſion to ſpeak the truth, replied, "The Greeks are to be feared, becauſe they are poor and virtuous. Without pronouncing the eulogium of the other ſtates, I ſhall only ſpeak to you of the Lacedæmonians. They will ſcorn the idea of ſlavery. Should all Greece ſubmit to your arms, they will be but the more ardent in defence of their liberty. Inquire not the number of their troops; were they but a ſingle thouſand, nay, were they ſtill fewer, they would preſent themſelves to the combat!"

The Perſian king, at hearing this, laughed aloud; and, after comparing his forces with thoſe of the Lacedæmonians, "Do you not ſee," added he, "that the greateſt part of my ſoldiers would take to flight were they not retained by menaces and blows? As a ſimilar dread cannot operate on thoſe Spartans who are repreſented to us as ſo free and independent, it is evident that they will never unneceſſarily brave certain death: and what is there to conſtrain them to it?" "The law," replied Demaratus; "that law which has more power over them than you have over your ſubjects; that law which ſaith to them, Behold your enemies; the queſtion is not to number them; you muſt conquer or die [e]."

At theſe words the laughter of Xerxes redoubled. He gave his orders, and the army began its march, divided into three bodies, one of which followed the ſea ſhore, and the

[c] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 205.
[d] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 101.
[e] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 104.

two others proceeded at ſtated diſtances through the interior part of the country [f]. The meaſures that had been adopted procured them certain means of ſubſiſtence. Three thouſand veſſels laden with proviſions kept along the coaſt, regulating their motions by thoſe of the army. The Egyptians and Phœnicians had previouſly ſtored many of the maritime towns of Thrace and Macedonia [g], and the Perſians, at every ſtation, were fed and provided with every thing by the inhabitants of the adjacent countries, who, long apprized of their arrival, were prepared for their reception [h].

Whilſt the army was purſuing its way towards Theſſaly, ravaging the country; conſuming, in a ſingle day, the harveſts of whole years; and dragging to the combat the nations it had reduced to indigence; the fleet of Xerxes croſſed, inſtead of doubling, Mount Athos.

This mountain extends itſelf in a peninſula, annexed to the continent only by an iſthmus of twelve ſtadia in breadth *. The Perſian fleet had experienced, ſome years before, the danger of this coaſt [i]. They might now have conveyed the fleet over the iſthmus by the labour of men: but Xerxes had ordered it to be cut through, and a number of workmen were long employed in digging a canal in which two galleys might ſail abreaſt [k]. Xerxes beheld their ſucceſs, and imagined that, after throwing a bridge over the ſea, and opening a paſſage through mountains, nothing could withſtand his power.

The fears which had agitated Greece for many years were now approaching the cataſtrophe. Ever ſince the battle of Marathon, the news brought from Aſia announced nothing but projects of vengeance on the part of the great king [l], and that the preparations ſuſpended by the death of Darius were reſumed with greater vigour by his ſon Xerxes.

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f Herodot. lib. 7. cap 121.
g Id. ibid. cap. 25.
h Id. ibid. cap. 118 et 119.
* About half a league.
i Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 44.
k Id. lib. 7. cap. 23 et 24.
l Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.

Whilſt the latter monarch was buſily employed in theſe, two Spartans ſuddenly made their appearance at the court of Suſa, and were admitted to an audience of the king, but conſtantly refuſed to proſtrate themſelves before him in the manner of the eaſtern nations. "King of the Medes," ſaid they, "the Lacedæmonians put to death, ſome years ago, the ambaſſadors of Darius. They owe a ſatisfaction to Perſia: we come to offer you our heads." Theſe two Spartans, named Sperthias and Bulis, learning that the gods, irritated at the murder of the Perſian ambaſſadors, rejected the ſacrifices of the Lacedæmonians, had devoted themſelves for the ſalvation of their country [m]. Xerxes, ſurpriſed at their firmneſs, aſtoniſhed them no leſs by his anſwer: "Go, ſay to Lacedæmon," replied he, "that if ſhe be capable of violating the law of nations, I am incapable of following her example; nor will I expiate, by taking away your lives, the crime with which ſhe has polluted herſelf."

Some time after, Xerxes being at Sardes, three Athenian ſpies were diſcovered, who had found means to gain admiſſion into the Perſian army. The king, far from condemning them to die, ordered that they ſhould be permitted to take, at their leiſure, an exact account of his forces, flattering himſelf that, at their return, the Greeks would loſe no time in ſubmitting to his power [n]. But the relation they gave only ſerved to confirm the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the reſolution they had before taken to form a general league among the nations of Greece. They aſſembled a council on the iſthmus of Corinth; and their deputies flew from city to city, endeavouring to communicate the ſame ardour with which they themſelves were animated. The pythia of Delphi inceſſantly interrogated, and inceſſantly ſurrounded with preſents; ſtriving to conciliate the honour of her miniſtry with the intereſted views of the prieſts, and the ſecret wiſhes

[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 136. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 225.

[n] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 146.

of all who conſulted her; now exhorted the nations to remain inactive, and now augmented their alarms by the miſery ſhe announced, and their uncertainty by the impenetrable obſcurity of her anſwers.

The Argives were preſſed to enter into the confederation [o]. Six thouſand of their ſoldiers, among whom was the choice body of their youth, had lately periſhed in an expedition into Argolis, under Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon [p]. Exhauſted by this loſs, they had obtained an oracle forbidding them to take up arms: they afterwards deſired to command part of the army of the Greeks, and complaining of a refuſal which they expected, they remained quiet [q], and concluded by carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with the king of Perſia [r].

More reaſonable expectations had been formed from the aſſiſtance of Gelon, king of Syracuſe. This prince, by his victories and talents, had recently ſubdued ſeveral Grecian colonies, which ſhould naturally fly to the defence of their mother country. The deputies of Lacedæmon and Athens being admitted into his preſence, Syagrus the Spartan was their ſpeaker; who, after ſaying a few words of the forces and projects of Xerxes, contented himſelf with repreſenting to Gelon, that the ruin of Greece would neceſſarily be followed by that of Sicily [s].

The king anſwered with emotion, that in his wars with the Carthaginians, and on other occaſions, he had implored the aſſiſtance of the allied powers, without obtaining it; that their danger alone now forced them to have recourſe to him; that, nevertheleſs, forgetting theſe juſt motives of complaint, he was ready to furniſh two hundred galleys, twenty thouſand heavy armed troops, four thouſand horſemen, two thouſand archers, and as many ſlingers: "I will beſides engage," added he, "to procure the neceſſary proviſions for the whole army

[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 145.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 148.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 148. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 692. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 3.
[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 12.
[s] Id. lib. 7. cap. 157.

during the war; but I require one condition, which is, to be named generaliſſimo of the forces both by ſea and land."

"Oh! how would the ſhade of Agamemnon groan," haſtily replied Syagrus, "were he to learn that the Lacedæmonians have been deprived by Gelon and the Syracuſans of the honour of commanding the armies of Greece! No, never will Sparta yield to you that prerogative. If you wiſh to ſuccour Greece, it is from us you muſt receive commands; if you pretend to give them, keep your ſoldiers."—"Syagrus," ſaid the king with calmneſs, "I do not forget that we are bound by the ties of hoſpitality; do you, on your part, recollect, that inſulting words ſerve but to exaſperate. The haughtineſs of your anſwer ſhall not make me overſtep the bounds of moderation; and though, by my power, I have more right than you to the ſupreme command, I propoſe to you to ſhare it. Chooſe that of the land army, or of the fleet; I will accept either."

"The Greeks," inſtantly replied the Athenian ambaſſador, "do not aſk a general, but troops. I was ſilent on your firſt claims, which it was for Syagrus to annul: but I declare, that if the Lacedæmonians yield up any part of the command, it by right devolves on the Athenians [t]."

On theſe words, Gelon diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, and loſt no time in ſending off to Delphi a perſon of the name of Cadmus, with orders to wait there the event of the battle; to withdraw if the Greeks were victors; and if vanquiſhed, to offer to Xerxes the homage of his crown, accompanied with rich preſents [u].

Nor were the greater part of the negociations ſet on foot by the confederate cities attended with any better ſucceſs. The inhabitants of Crete conſulted the oracle, which commanded them not to interfere in the affairs of Greece [x]. The Corcyreans fitted out ſixty galleys, which they ſent to ſea

[t] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 161.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 163.

with orders to remain peaceably on the ſouthern coaſts of Peloponneſus, and to declare in favour of the conquerors [y].

In fine the Theſſalians, who by the influence of ſeveral of their chiefs had been hitherto engaged on the part of the Medes, ſignified to the council that they were ready to guard the paſs of Mount Olympus, which leads from the lower Macedonia into Theſſaly, if the other Greeks would ſecond their efforts [z]. Ten thouſand men were immediately ſent off, under the command of Evenetus of Lacedæmon, and Themiſtocles of Athens: they arrived on the banks of the Peneus, and encamped with the Theſſalian cavalry, at the entrance of the vale of Tempe; but learning ſome days after, that the Perſian army could penetrate into Theſſaly by an eaſier road, and ſome deputies of Alexander, king of Macedon, apprizing them of the danger of their ſituation, they retired towards the iſthmus of Corinth; and the Theſſalians determined to make their peace with the Perſians.

There remained then for the defence of Greece only a ſmall number of ſtates and cities. Themiſtocles was the ſoul of their councils, and ſupported their hopes; alternately employing perſuaſion and addreſs, prudence and activity; actuating every mind, leſs by the force of eloquence than by his ſtrength of character; ever directed himſelf by a genius uncultivated by art, and which nature had deſtined to govern men and events: a kind of inſtinct, whoſe ſudden inſpirations unveiled to him every thing he had to hope or dread for the preſent or the future [a].

For ſome years paſt he had foreſeen that the battle of Marathon was but the prelude of the wars with which the Greeks were menaced; that they never had been in greater danger than ſince their victory; that to ſecure the ſuperiority they had acquired, they muſt abandon the methods by which it

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[x] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 169.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 168. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 13.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 172.
[a] Thucydid. lib. 1. c. 138. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 112. Nep. in Themiſt. c. 1 &c.

had been obtained; that they would always be maſters of the continent, could they but be ſo of the ſea; and that in ſhort a time would come when the general ſafety would depend on that of Athens, and the ſafety of Athens on the number of her ſhips.

In conſequence of theſe reflections, equally new and important, he had undertaken to effect a total change in the ideas of the Athenians, and to turn their views to the eſtabliſhment of a navy. Two circumſtances enabled him to execute his plan. The Athenians were at war with the inhabitants of the iſland of Ægina; they had to divide at the ſame time conſiderable ſums ariſing from their ſilver mines. He perſuaded them to forego this diſtribution, and to build two hundred galleys, either to attack the Æginetæ, or to defend themſelves againſt the future attacks of the Perſians [b]: theſe galleys were in the ports of Attica at the time of the invaſion of Xerxes.

Whilſt this prince was continuing his march, it was reſolved in the council of the iſthmus, that a body of troops, under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the paſs of Thermopylæ, ſituated between Theſſaly and Locris [c]; that the fleet of the Greeks ſhould wait for that of the Perſians in the adjoining ſeas, in a ſtrait formed by the coaſts of Theſſaly and Eubœa.

The Athenians, who were to fit out a hundred and twenty-ſeven galleys, alleged that they had more right to the command of the fleet than the Lacedæmonians, who furniſhed only ten [d]. But ſeeing that the allies threatened to withdraw unleſs they were headed by a Spartan, they deſiſted from their claim. Eurybiades was elected general, and had under him Themiſtocles and the leaders of the other nations [e].

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[b] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 144. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 14. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 113.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 175. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 4.

[d] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 1. Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 206.

[e] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 115.

The fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and eighty veſſels [f], repaired to the place of its deſtination, and remained on the coaſts of Eubœa, in a ſtrait named Artemiſium.

Leonidas, having been informed of the choice of the council, foreſaw his fate, and ſubmitted to it with that greatneſs of ſoul which then characterized his nation: he choſe to accompany him only three hundred Spartans, who equalled him in courage, and with whoſe ſentiments he was perfectly acquainted [g]. The ephori having repreſented to him, that ſo ſmall a number of ſoldiers could not ſuffice: "They are very few," anſwered he, "to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, but too many for the object they have in view." "And what then is that object?" demanded the ephori. "Our duty," replied he, "is to defend the paſs; our reſolution to periſh in it. Three hundred victims ſuffice for the honour of Sparta. She would be irreparably loſt did ſhe intruſt me with all her warriors; for I am convinced that not a ſingle man among them would even think of flight [h]."

Some days after, Lacedæmon exhibited a ſpectacle which it is impoſſible to recollect without emotion. The companions of Leonidas previouſly honoured his death and their own by a funeral combat, at which their fathers and mothers attended [i]. This ceremony ended, they left the city, followed by their relations and friends, from whom they received an eternal farewell; at which time the wife of Leonidas aſking him his laſt wiſhes: "I wiſh you," ſaid he to her, "a huſband worthy of you, and children who may reſemble him [k]."

Leonidas haſtened his march; ſince he was anxious, by his example, to retain in their duty ſeveral cities ready to declare for the Perſians [l]. He paſſed through the country of the Thebans, whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected, but who nevertheleſs

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[f] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 1.
[g] Id. lib. 7. cap. 205.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 4. Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225.
[i] Plut. de Herodot. Malign. p. 866.
[k] Id. ibid.; et Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
[l] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 206.

furniſhed him with four hundred men; after which he proceeded on his march and encamped at Thermopylæ [m].

Soon after arrived ſucceſſively a thouſand ſoldiers from Tegea and Mantinea, a hundred and twenty from Orchomenus, a thouſand from the other cities of Arcadia, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, eighty from Mycenæ, ſeven hundred from Theſpia, and a thouſand from Phocis. The little nation of the Locrians repaired to the camp with all its forces [n].

This detachment, which amounted to about ſeven thouſand men *, was to be followed by the whole army of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians were detained at home by a feſtival; the other allies were preparing for the ſolemnity of the Olympic games; and all imagined that Xerxes was yet far diſtant from Thermopylæ [o].

This paſs is the only road by which an army can penetrate from Theſſaly into Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, and the adjacent countries [p]. It will be neceſſary to give a ſuccinct deſcription of it.

On quitting Phocis to go into Theſſaly †, we paſs by the little country of the Locrians, and arrive at the town of Alpenus, ſituated by the ſea [q]. As it ſtands at the entrance of the ſtrait, it has been fortified in theſe modern times [r].

The road at firſt is only wide enough for the paſſage of a waggon [s]; but it afterwards enlarges itſelf between moraſſes formed by the waters of the ſea [t], and almoſt inacceſſible rocks, which terminate the chain of mountains known by the name of Œta [u].

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[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 205. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 5.

[n] Id. ibid. cap. 202.

* See note VII. at the end of the volume.

[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 206.

[p] Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.

† See the map.

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 176.

[r] Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 416.

[s] Herod. lib. 7. cap. 176.

[t] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 558.

[u] Strab. lib. 9. p. 428. Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.

Scarcely have we left Alpenus, before we diſcover on the left, a ſtone conſecrated to Hercules Melampygus; and fall in with a path which leads to the ſummit of the mountain [x]. Of this path I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak.

Farther on, the traveller croſſes a current of hot water, whence this place has acquired the name of Thermopylæ [y].

Near to this ſtream is the town of Anthela; and, in the plain which ſurrounds it, a ſmall eminence [z], and a temple of Ceres, in which the Amphictyons annually hold one of their aſſemblies.

On coming out of the plain, we meet with a road, or rather cauſeway, only about ſeven or eight feet wide. This part is particularly to be noticed: the Phocians had formerly built a wall here, to protect their country from the inroads of the Theſſalians [a].

After paſſing the Phœnix, which at laſt falls into the Aſopus, a river that riſes in an adjoining valley, we come to the laſt defile half a plethrum in breadth *.

The road then widens as far as Trachinia, which takes its name from the city of Trachis [b], and is inhabited by the Malians [c]. This country preſents the traveller with extenſive plains watered by the Sperchius and other rivers. To the eaſt of Trachis now ſtands the city of Heraclea, which did not exiſt in the time of Xerxes [d].

The whole ſtrait, from the defile before we arrive at Alpenus to that which is beyond the Phœnix, may be about forty-eight ſtadia in length †. Its breadth varies almoſt at every ſtep; but through its whole extent it is ſhut in on one ſide by ſteep mountains, and on the other by the ſea, or im-

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[x] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 216.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 176. Strab. Liv. &c.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 225.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 176.
* Fifteen or ſixteen yards.
[b] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 199.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 92. Palmer. Exercit. in Optim. Aut. p. 275.
[d] Id. ibid.
† About two leagues.

penetrable moraſſes [e]. The road is often deſtroyed by the torrents, or by ſtagnant waters [f].

Leonidas poſted his little army near Anthela [g], rebuilt the wall of the Phocians, and diſpatched a few advanced troops to defend the approaches. But it was not ſufficient to guard the paſſage at the foot of the mountain: there was on the mountain itſelf a path, which beginning at the plain of Trachis, terminated, after various windings, near the town of Alpenus. Leonidas intruſted the defence of this path to the thouſand Phocians he had with him, and who took poſt on the heights of Mount Œta [h].

Scarcely were theſe diſpoſitions completed, before the army of Xerxes was diſcovered, ſpreading itſelf over Trachinia, and covering the plain with its innumerable tents [i]. At ſight of this, the Greeks deliberated on the meaſures to be adopted. The greater part of the generals were for retiring to the Iſthmus; but Leonidas rejecting this counſel, they contented themſelves with diſpatching couriers, to haſten the ſuccours of the allied cities [k].

A Perſian horſeman now appeared, ſent by Xerxes to reconnoitre the enemy. The advanced poſt of the Greeks was that day compoſed of the Spartans, ſome of whom were exerciſing themſelves in wreſtling, others combing their hair: for, in ſimilar dangers, their firſt care is to decorate their heads. The horſeman was permitted to approach to number them, and to retire without any perſon deigning to pay attention to him. As the wall concealed from him the reſt of the army, he only gave an account to Xerxes of the three hundred men he had ſeen at the entrance of the defile [l].

The king, aſtoniſhed at the tranquillity of the Lacedæmonians, waited a few days to give them time for reflection [m]. On the fifth day, he wrote to Leonidas: "If thou wilt ſub-

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[e] Pauſan. lib. 10 p. 849.
[f] Strab. lib. 9 p. 428.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 7. p. 558. Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.
[h] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 175 et 217.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 201.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 207.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 208.

mit to my power, I will give thee the empire of Greece.[m]" Leonidas anſwered: "I rather chooſe to die for, than to enſlave my country." A ſecond letter from the king contained only theſe words: "Surrender thy arms." Leonidas wrote underneath: "Come and take them [n]."

Xerxes, tranſported with rage, immediately gave orders for the Medes and Ciſſians to march [o], commanding them to take theſe men alive, and inſtantly to bring them to him. Some ſoldiers running to Leonidas, ſaid to him: "The Perſians are near us." To which he coolly replied: "Rather ſay, that we are near the Perſians [p]." He immediately advanced out of his entrenchment, with the choiceſt of his troops, and gave the ſignal for the battle. The Medes ruſhed on with fury; their firſt ranks fell covered with wounds; and thoſe who replaced them quickly experienced the ſame fate. The Greeks, preſſing cloſe againſt each other, and covered with large bucklers, preſented an impenetrable front of long pikes, and a phalanx which freſh troops ſucceſſively attempted in vain to break. After ſeveral fruitleſs attacks, the Medes were ſeized with a panic; they fled, and were relieved by the choſen body of the ten thouſand immortals commanded by Hydarnes [q]. The action now became more bloody: the valour each ſide diſplayed was perhaps equal; but the Greeks had in their favour the advantage of ſituation, and the ſuperiority of arms. The pikes of the Perſians were too ſhort, and their bucklers too ſmall [r]: they loſt a great number of men; and Xerxes, witneſs of their flight, leaped, as it is ſaid, more than once from his chariot, and trembled for his army.

The next day the attack was renewed, but with ſo little ſucceſs on the part of the Perſians, that Xerxes deſpaired of forcing the paſſage. His proud and puſillanimous mind was

[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 210.
[n] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 210.
[p] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7.
[r] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 211.

agitated by anxiety and ſhame, when an inhabitant of thoſe diſtricts, named Epialtes, came to diſcover to him the fatal path by which he might turn the Grecians. Xerxes, tranſported with joy, immediately detached Hydarnes with the corps of the immortals [s]. Epialtes ſerved them as a guide. They began their march as night came on, made their way through the foreſt of oaks which covered the ſides of the mountains, and arrived near the ſpot where Leonidas had poſted a detachment of his army.

Hydarnes took this for a body of Spartans, but, encouraged by Epialtes, who knew the Phocians, prepared to attack them. After a ſlight defence, they took refuge on the adjoining heights, leaving the Perſians to purſue their march.

During the night, Leonidas had been informed of their project by ſome deſerters who had eſcaped from the camp of Xerxes; and the next morning learned their ſucceſs by the arrival of the centinels ſtationed on the top of the mountain. At this dreadful news, the leaders of the Greeks aſſembled. As ſome of them were of opinion to retreat from Thermopylæ, and others to remain, Leonidas conjured them to reſerve themſelves for more fortunate opportunities, and declared that, as for himſelf and his companions, it was not permitted them to quit a poſt that Sparta had confided to their care [t]. The Theſpians proteſted that they would not abandon the Spartans; and the four hundred Thebans, whether voluntarily or through neceſſity, adopted the ſame reſolution [u]; the remainder of the army had time to march out of the defile.

In the mean time Leonidas prepared for the moſt arduous of enterpriſes. "It is not here," ſaid he to his companions, "that we muſt combat: we muſt march to the tent of Xerxes, ſacrifice the invader, or periſh in the midſt of his camp." His

[s] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 215. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7. Strab. lib. 1. p. 10.
[t] Id. ibid. c. 220. Juſtin. l. 2. c. 11.
[u] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 222. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 865.

ſoldiers anſwered only by a ſhout of joy. He then made them take a frugal repaſt, adding: "We ſhall ſoon take another with Pluto." Expreſſions like theſe could not but leave a profound impreſſion in their minds. When on the point of attacking the enemy, he was moved with the fate of two Spartans, united to him by blood and friendſhip; to the firſt he gave a letter, and to the ſecond a ſecret commiſſion for the magiſtrates of Lacedæmon. "We came not here," replied they, "to carry orders, but to fight;" and, without waiting for his anſwer, took their places in the ranks aſſigned to them [x].

In the middle of the night, the Greeks, with Leonidas at their head, iſſued out of the defile, advanced with haſty ſteps through the plain, overthrew the advanced poſts, and penetrated to the tent of Xerxes, who had already taken flight: they entered the adjoining tents, ſpread over the camp, and glutted themſelves with carnage. The terror they inſpired was increaſed at every ſtep, and every inſtant, with the moſt dreadful circumſtances. Confuſed rumours and lamentable cries affirmed that the troops of Hydarnes were cut off, and that the whole army muſt ſoon be deſtroyed by the combined forces of Greece. The moſt courageous of the Perſians, no longer able to hear the voice of their generals, nor knowing whether to bend their ſteps, or to direct their blows, threw themſelves at random into the battle, and were periſhing by the hands of each other, when the firſt rays of the ſun enabled them to diſcover the inconſiderable number of the victors. They inſtantly form, and attack the Greeks on all ſides. Leonidas falls beneath a ſhower of darts. The conteſt for the honour of carrying off his body, brought on a terrible conflict between his companions and the moſt expert and hardy warriors of the Perſian army. Two brothers of Xerxes, a multitude of Perſians, and ſeveral Spartans, there loſt their

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 8. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 866. Id. Lacon. Apoph. t. ii. p. 225. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 11.

lives. At length the Greeks, though ſpent and enfeebled by their loſſes, carried off their general, four times repulſing the enemy in their retreat; and after regaining the defile, cleared the entrenchment, and took poſt on the little eminence near Anthela; where they ſtill defended themſelves for ſome time, both againſt the troops in their purſuit, and thoſe brought againſt them by Hydarnes from the other ſide of the ſtrait [y].

Pardon, generous ſhades, the feebleneſs of my expreſſions. I offered you a worthier homage when I viſited that eminence on which you breathed your laſt; when leaning on one of your tombs, I bathed with my tears the places ſtained with your blood. - But, after all, what is it that eloquence can add to ſo ſublime and ſo extraordinary a ſacrifice? The memory of your heroic deeds will remain longer than the Perſian empire you reſiſted; and to the end of ages, your example will produce in every heart that loves his country the rapture or the enthuſiaſm of admiration.

Before the action was terminated, it is ſaid that ſome Thebans ſurrendered to the Perſians [z]. The Theſpians ſhared in the exploits and deſtiny of the Spartans, yet the glory of the Spartans has almoſt eclipſed that of the Theſpians. Amongſt the cauſes which have influenced the public opinion, it muſt be obſerved, that the reſolution to periſh at Thermopylæ was, with the former, a plan conceived, determined on, and purſued with as much coolneſs as conſtancy; whereas, it was but a ſally of bravery and virtue in the latter, when ſtimulated by example. The Theſpians only roſe ſuperior to other men, becauſe the Spartans roſe ſuperior to themſelves.

Lacedæmon prides herſelf in the death of her warriors. Every thing that relates to them juſtly engages the attention. Whilſt they were at Thermopylæ, a Trachinian, to impreſs them with a high idea of the numerous army of Xerxes, ſaid to them, that the number of their arrows was ſufficient to ob-

[y] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 225.

[z] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 233.

ſcure the ſun. So much the better, replied the Spartan Dieneces; we ſhall then fight in the ſhade [a]. Another, ſent by Leonidas to Lacedæmon, was detained in the town of Alpenus by a defluction in his eyes. On being told that the detachment of Hydarnes was deſcending from the mountain, and entering the defile, he inſtantly flies to arms, orders his ſlave to conduct him to the enemy, attacks at random, and obtained the death to which he aſpired [b].

Two other Greeks, who had been abſent likewiſe by order of the general, were on their return, ſuſpected of not having exerted every effort to be preſent at the battle. Such a ſuſpicion covered them with infamy. The one ſlew himſelf; the only reſource of the other was to loſe his life, ſome time after, at the battle of Platæa [c].

The death of Leonidas and his companions produced a greater effect than that of the moſt brilliant victory; it taught the Greeks the ſecret of their power, and the Perſians that of their weakneſs [d]. Xerxes, diſmayed at finding himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of men, but ſo few ſoldiers, was not leſs alarmed to learn that Greece poſſeſſed a multitude of defenders, no leſs intrepid than the Theſpians, and eight thouſand Spartans as brave as thoſe who had now ſacrificed their lives [e]. On the other hand, the aſtoniſhment with which they had filled the Greeks ſoon changed into a violent deſire to imitate them. The ambition of glory, the love of country, all the virtues were carried to their higheſt elevation, and the minds of men exalted to a degree hitherto unknown. This was the time for great actions, and not a moment to be choſen for impoſing chains upon free nations.

While Xerxes was at Thermopylæ, his fleet, after meeting with a tempeſt on the coaſts of Magneſia, which deſtroyed four hundred galleys and a great number of tranſport veſ-

[a] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 226.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 229.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 231 et 232.
[d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 10.
[e] Herodot. lib 7. cap. 210 et 234.

ſels [f], had continued its courſe, and anchored near the city of Aphetæ, in the preſence of, and only at the diſtance of eighty ſtadia from that of the Greeks [g], ſtationed to defend the paſſage between Eubœa and the main land. Here, though with ſome variation in the ſucceſs, were repeated, both in the attack and the defence, ſeveral of the circumſtances which preceded and accompanied the attack of Thermopylæ [h].

The Greeks, at the approach of the enemy's fleet, reſolved to abandon the ſtrait; but Themiſtocles retained them [i]. Two hundred Perſian veſſels ſailed round the iſle of Eubœa, and were proceeding to ſhut in the Greeks, when a ſecond tempeſt daſhed them to pieces on the rocks [k]. During three days, ſeveral engagements took place, in which the Greeks almoſt always obtained the advantage: at length they learned that the paſs of Thermopylæ was forced, and immediately retreated to the iſle of Salamis [l].

During this retreat, Themiſtocles, landed on thoſe coaſts, to which the crews of the enemy's veſſels might be expected to reſort, on account of the ſprings of water: he there left inſcriptions, addreſſed to the Ionians in the army of Xerxes, reminding them, that they were the deſcendants of thoſe Greeks againſt whom they now bore arms. His intention was to induce them to abandon the party of that prince, or at leaſt to render them ſuſpected [m].

In the mean time, the army of the Greeks took its ſtation on the iſthmus of Corinth, and now thought only of diſputing the entrance into Peloponneſus [n]. This project diſconcerted the views of the Athenians, who had hitherto flattered themſelves that Bœotia, not Attica, would be the ſeat of

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[f] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 190.
[g] Id. lib. 8. cap. 8.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 11.
[i] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 4 et 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 11.
[k] Herodot. ibid. cap. 7 et 13.
[l] Id. lib. 8. cap. 21.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 22. Juſtin. lib. 2 c. 12. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 116.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 40. Iſocr. Paneg. t. 1. p. 166.

war. Abandoned by their allies, perhaps they would have abandoned themſelves; but Themiſtocles, who foreſaw every future contingency, without dreading any, as he provided for every event, had adopted ſuch prudent meaſures, that this very event ſerved only to juſtify the ſyſtem of defence he had conceived from the beginning of the Median war.

In public, and in private, he repreſented to the Athenians, that it was time to quit thoſe places which the celeſtial vengeance had determined to reſign to the fury of the Perſians; that the fleet offered them a ſecure aſylum, and that they would find a new home wherever they could preſerve their liberty: theſe diſcourſes he ſeconded by oracles, which he had obtained from the Pythia; and when the people were aſſembled, an incident contrived by Themiſtocles finally determined them to embrace his advice. Some prieſts declared, that the ſacred ſerpent fed in the temple of Minerva had lately diſappeared [o]. The goddeſs forſakes her abode, exclaimed they; why ſhould we delay to follow her? The people immediately paſſed the following decree, propoſed by Themiſtocles: "That the city ſhould be put under the protection of Minerva; that all the inhabitants able to bear arms ſhould go on board the ſhips; and that each individual ſhould provide for the ſafety of his wife, his children, and ſlaves [p]." The people were ſo animated, that, on coming out of the aſſembly, they ſtoned Cyrſilus to death, who had ventured to propoſe ſubmiſſion to the Perſians, and inflicted the ſame puniſhment on the wife of that orator [q].

The execution of this decree exhibited a moſt affecting ſcene. The inhabitants of Attica, obliged to quit their homes, their fields, the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors, made the plains reſound with their doleful cries. The aged, whom their infirmities rendered it impoſſible to convey from the city, were unable to tear themſelves from

[o] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 41. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 116.

[p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 116.

[q] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 507.

the arms of their diſconſolate families; the men capable of ſerving the republic received on the ſea ſhore the farewel and lamentations of their wives, their children, and thoſe to whom they owed their being [r]: they made them haſtily embark in veſſels prepared to convey them to Ægina, Trœzene, and Salamis [s], and themſelves immediately went on board the fleet, overwhelmed with an exceſs of affliction, which waited only for the moment of revenge.

Xerxes was at this time preparing to leave the ſtraits of Thermopylæ: the flight of the Grecian fleet had reſtored to him all his haughtineſs; he hoped to find among them that terror and diſcouragement which the ſlighteſt reverſe of fortune occaſioned in his own mind. Thus circumſtanced, ſome Arcadian deſerters repaired to his army, and were admitted to his preſence. They were aſked in what manner the ſtates of Peloponneſus were employed. "They are celebrating the Olympic games," anſwered they, "and are buſied in diſtributing crowns to the victors." One of the chiefs of the army inſtantly exclaiming, We are led then againſt men who fight only for glory! Xerxes reproached him with his cowardice; and conſidering the ſecurity of the Greeks as an inſult, haſtened his departure [t].

He entered into Phocis. The inhabitants determined to ſacrifice every thing rather than betray the common cauſe; ſome took refuge on mount Parnaſſus; others in a neighbouring ſtate; their fields were ravaged, and their cities deſtroyed by fire and ſword. Bœotia ſubmitted, except Platæa and Theſpiæ, which were razed to their foundations [u].

After having laid waſte Attica, Xerxes entered Athens, where he found a few wretched old men expecting death, and a ſmall number of citizens, who, on the faith of ſome ill interpreted oracles, had reſolved to defend the citadel: for ſe-

[r] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.
[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 41. Pauſan. lib. 2. p. 185.
[t] Herod. lib. 8. cap. 26.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 50.

veral days they repulſed the redoubled attacks of the beſiegers; but, in the end, ſome threw themſelves from the top of the walls, and others were maſſacred in the holy places, where they had in vain ſought for an aſylum. The city was abandoned to pillage, and devoted to the flames [x].

The Perſian fleet lay at anchor in the road of Phalerum [y], diſtant twenty ſtadia from Athens *; that of the Greeks along the coaſts of Salamis. This iſland, ſituated oppoſite to Eleuſis †, forms a ſpacious bay, which is entered by two ſtraits; the one to the eaſtward on the ſide of Attica; the other to the weſt on that of Megaris. The former, at the entrance of which is the little iſland Pſyttalia, may, in ſome places, be from ſeven to eight ſtadia in breadth ‡, and in others much wider; the latter is not ſo broad.

The burning of Athens made ſuch an impreſſion on the Greeks, that the greater part of them reſolved to approach the iſthmus of Corinth, where the land troops were intrenched. Their departure was fixed for the next day [z].

During the night §, Themiſtocles waited on Eurybiades, the commander in chief of the fleet [a], and warmly repreſented to him, that if, in the conſternation that had taken poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, he conducted them to places favourable to deſertion, as his authority would not be ſufficient to keep them on board the veſſels, he would ſoon find himſelf without an army, and Greece be deprived of all defence.

In conſequence of this ſuggeſtion, Eurybiades ſummoned his generals to the council. All of them exclaimed againſt the propoſition of Themiſtocles; all, irritated at his obſtinacy, proceeded to offenſive language and inſulting menaces. While he was repelling with anger theſe indecent and tumul-

[x] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 53. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 35. p. 887.

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 67. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 619.

* A ſhort league.

† See the plan of the battle of Salamis.

‡ Nearly a mile.

[z] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 56.

§ The night between the 18th and 19th of October of the year 480 before Chriſt.

[a] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 57.

tuous attacks, he ſaw the Lacedæmonian general approach him, with his uplifted cane. He made a pauſe, and ſaid to him without emotion, "Strike, but hear [b]." This greatneſs of mind aſtoniſhed the Spartan, and occaſioned a general ſilence; when Themiſtocles reſuming his ſuperiority, but carefully avoiding to throw the leaſt ſuſpicion on the fidelity of the chiefs and troops, drew a lively picture of the advantages of the poſt they occupied, and the dangers of that they wiſhed to take: "Here," ſaid he, encloſed within a ſtrait, we ſhall preſent a front equal to that of the enemy. Further on, the innumerable fleet of the Perſians, having room to extend itſelf, will ſurround us on all ſides. By fighting at Salamis, we ſhall preſerve that iſland, in which are our wives and children; we ſhall preſerve the iſland of Ægina, and the city of Megara, whoſe inhabitants are members of the confederation; if we retire to the iſthmus, we ſhall loſe theſe important places, and you, Eurybiades, will have to reproach yourſelf with having drawn the enemy on the coaſts of Peloponneſus [c]."

At theſe words, Adimantus, chief of the Corinthians, an avowed Partiſan of the contrary opinion, again had recourſe to inſult. "Is it for a man," ſaid he, "who has neither home nor habitation, to give laws to Greece? Let Themiſtocles reſerve his councils for the time when he ſhall be able to flatter himſelf he has a country."——"What then!" exclaims Themiſtocles, "ſhall any man dare, in the preſence of the Greeks, to impute to us as a crime, that we have abandoned a uſeleſs pile of ſtones to avoid ſlavery! Wretched Adimantus! Athens is deſtroyed, but the Athenians ſtill exiſt; they poſſeſs a country a thouſand times more flouriſhing than yours, in theſe two hundred veſſels that belong to them, and which I command: I ſtill offer them; but they ſhall remain where they now are. If their aſſiſtance be refuſed, be the

[b] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 117.

[c] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 61. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 13.

Greek, who now hears me, whom he may, he ſhall ſoon learn that the Athenians poſſeſs a city more opulent, and fields more fertile, than thoſe which they have loſt [d]." And addreſſing himſelf immediately to Eurybiades, "It now," ſaid he, "lies with you to chooſe between the honour of ſaving Greece, or the diſgrace of having cauſed its ruin. I only declare to you, that after your departure, we will embark our wives and children, and proceed to Italy, to found a power heretofore promiſed us by the oracle. When you ſhall have loſt ſuch allies as the Athenians, you will perhaps call to remembrance the words of Themiſtocles [e]."

The commanding firmneſs of the Athenian general was of ſuch effect, that Eurybiades gave orders that the fleet ſhould not quit the ſhores of Salamis.

Similar conſultations were held at the ſame time in both the fleets. Xerxes had convoked on board one of his veſſels the leaders of the particular diviſions of which his naval armament was compoſed. Theſe were the kings of Sidon, Tyre, Cilicia, Cyprus, and a number of other petty ſovereigns or deſpots, dependants or tributaries of Perſia. In this auguſt aſſembly appeared alſo Artemiſia, queen of Halicarnaſſus and ſome neighbouring iſlands; a princeſs whom none of the generals ſurpaſſed in courage, nor equalled in prudence [f], who had followed Xerxes without compulſion, and might ſpeak the truth to him without giving him offence.

When the generals were aſſembled, and had taken their places according to their ranks, the queſtion for deliberation was propoſed, which was, whether they ſhould make a new attack on the Grecian fleet. Mardonius aroſe to collect the ſuffrages.

The king of Sidon, and the greater part of thoſe who voted after him, being informed of the intentions of the great king, declared themſelves for the battle. But Artemiſia thus

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[d] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 61. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

[e] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 62.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 101.

addreſſed Mardonius: "Repeat preciſely to Xerxes what I am now about to ſay to you:—My lord, after what paſſed in the late naval fight, no perſon will ſuſpect me of weakneſs or of cowardice. My zeal this day obliges me to give you a ſalutary counſel. Do not hazard a battle, the conſequences of which would be uſeleſs or fatal to your glory. Is not the principal object of your expedition accompliſhed? You are maſter of Athens, and you will ſoon be ſo of the reſt of Greece. By keeping your fleet in action, that of your enemies, which is provided with ſubſiſtence only for a few days, will of itſelf diſperſe. Do you wiſh to accelerate that moment; ſend your veſſels to the coaſts of Peloponneſus; conduct your land forces towards the iſthmus of Corinth, and you will ſee the Grecian troops fly to the ſuccour of their country. I dread a battle, becauſe, ſo far from procuring advantages, it would endanger both your armies; I dread it, becauſe I know the ſuperiority of the Grecian navy. You are, my lord, the beſt of maſters; but you have very wretched ſervants. And what confidence, after all, can you place in that crowd of Egyptians, Cypriots, Cilicians, and Pamphilians, who fill the greateſt part of your veſſels [g]?"

Mardonius having collected all the voices, made his report to Xerxes, who, after laviſhing the higheſt encomiums on the queen of Halicarnaſſus, endeavoured to reconcile the advice of that princeſs with the opinion of the majority of the council. He gave orders that the fleet ſhould advance towards the iſle of Salamis, while the army marched towards the iſthmus of Corinth [h].

This ſtep produced the effect foreſeen by Artemiſia. The greater part of the generals of the Grecian fleet exclaimed that it was now time to haſten to the ſuccour of Peloponneſus. The oppoſition of the Æginetæ, Megareans, and Athenians, protracted the deliberation; but Themiſtocles at

[g] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 68.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 69 et 71.

length perceiving that the contrary opinion was prevalent in the council [i], made a laſt effort to prevent its conſequences.

A man was ſent during the night * to give information from him to the chiefs of the enemy's fleet, that part of the Greeks, and a general of the Athenians at their head, were diſpoſed to declare in favour of the king; that the remainder, ſeized with conſternation, were meditating a haſty retreat; and that, enfeebled as they were by diviſions, if they ſaw themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded by the Perſian forces, they would be compelled to lay down their arms, or turn them againſt themſelves [k].

The Perſians immediately advanced, under favour of the darkneſs, and, after blocking up the avenues by which the Greeks might have eſcaped [l], they ſtationed four hundred men [m] in the iſland of Pſyttalia, ſituated between the continent and the eaſtern point of Salamis; at which place the battle was to be fought [n].

At this moment Ariſtides, whom Themiſtocles had ſome time before reſtored to the wiſhes of the Athenians [o], croſſed from the iſle of Ægina to the Grecian fleet: he had perceived this movement of the Perſians; and, as ſoon as he arrived at Salamis, repaired to the place where the generals were aſſembled, ſent for Themiſtocles, and ſaid to him: "It is time to forget our idle and puerile diſſenſions. One only intereſt ought to animate us this day, that of ſaving Greece, you by giving orders, and I by carrying them into execution. Tell the Greeks that deliberation now is out of the queſtion, and that the enemy has juſt made himſelf maſter of the paſſages that might favour their flight." Themiſtocles, much affected with the noble conduct of Ariſtides, diſcovered to him the ſtratagem he had employed to induce the Perſians to act as

i Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 156.

* In the night between the 19th and 20th of October of the year 480 before Chriſt.

k Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 75. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 14. Plut. in Them. p. 118. Nep in Themiſt. cap. 4.

l Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 366. Diod. ibid.

m Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 36. p. 88.

n Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 76.

o Plut. in Themiſt. p. 117.

they had done, and begged him to enter the council [p]. The relation of Ariſtides, confirmed by other witneſſes who ſucceſſively arrived, broke up the aſſembly, and the Greeks prepared for battle.

By the reinforcements which had been received by both fleets, that of the Perſians amounted to twelve hundred and ſeven veſſels, and that of the Greeks to three hundred and eighty [q]. At break of day, Themiſtocles embarked his ſoldiers. The Grecian fleet formed in the eaſtern ſtrait: the Athenians were on the right [r], and oppoſite to the Phœnicians; the left, compoſed of Lacedæmonians, Æginetæ, and Megareans, was oppoſed to the Ionians [s].

Xerxes wiſhing to animate his army by his preſence, placed himſelf upon a neighbouring eminence, ſurrounded by ſecretaries, who were to deſcribe all the circumſtances of the engagement [t]. As ſoon as he appeared, the two wings of the Perſians began to move, and advanced as far as beyond the iſland of Pſyttalia. They preſerved their lines as long as they were able to extend them; but were compelled to break their order, as they approached the iſland and the continent [u]. Beſides this diſadvantage, they had to contend with a contrary wind [x], and the heavineſs of their veſſels, which were extremely unwieldy in manœuvring, and which, ſo far from being able mutually to ſupport, were perpetually embarraſſing and ſtriking againſt each other.

The fate of the battle depended on the operations of the right wing of the Greeks, and of the Perſian left. There were placed the choiceſt forces of both fleets. The Phœnicians and Athenians alternately preſſed and repulſed each other in the ſtrait. Ariabignes, one of the brothers of Xerxes, conducted the former to the combat, as if he had

[p] *Plut. in* Themiſt. p. 118; *in* Ariſt. p. 323.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 184. Id. lib. 8. cap. 66 et 82.
[r] Id. lib. 8. cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 85.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 69 et 90. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 118.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.
[x] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 119.

been leading them to victory. Themiſtocles was preſent every where, and braved every danger. Whilſt he was reanimating or moderating the ardour of his troops, Ariabignes advanced, and ſhowered on him, as from the ſummit of a rampart, a cloud of darts and arrows. At the very inſtant, an Athenian galley ruſhed with impetuoſity on the Phœnician admiral; and the indignant young prince, leaping on board the galley, fell immediately covered with wounds[y].

The death of their leader ſpread conſternation among the Phœnicians, and the multiplicity of chiefs created a confuſion that accelerated their deſtruction; their huge veſſels driven on the rocks of the adjacent coaſts, daſhed againſt each other, and their ſides laid open by the beaks of the Athenian galleys, covered the ſea with wrecks; even the ſuccours that were ſent them ſerved only to increaſe their confuſion[z]. In vain did the Cypriots and the other nations of the eaſt attempt to renew the battle: after a long reſiſtance, they diſperſed, and followed the example of the Phœnicians[a].

Not content with this advantage, Themiſtocles led his victorious wing to the ſuccour of the Lacedæmonians and the other allies, who were defending themſelves againſt the Ionians. As the latter had read the inſcriptions left by Themiſtocles on the coaſts of Eubœa, exhorting them to forſake the party of the Perſians, it is alleged that ſome of them joined the Greeks during the engagement, or were only attentive to ſpare them. It is certain, however, that they in general fought with valour, nor thought of a retreat till they were attacked by the whole of the Grecian fleet. At this juncture Artemiſia, ſurrounded by enemies, and on the point of falling into the hands of an Athenian in cloſe purſuit of her, had recourſe to the expedient of ſinking a veſſel of the Perſian fleet. The Athenian, perſuaded by this manœuvre

[y] Plut. in Themiſtocl. p. 119. Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 89.

[z] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 413. Herod. lib. 8. cap. 80.

[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.

that the queen had deſerted the cauſe of the Perſians, deſiſted from the purſuit; and Xerxes, ſuppoſing that the veſſel he ſaw ſink belonged to the Greeks, could not refrain from remarking, that on this day the men had behaved like women, and the women like men[b].

The Perſian fleet retired to the port of Phalerum[c]. Two hundred of their veſſels had been deſtroyed, and a great number taken: the Greeks loſt only forty galleys[d]. The battle was fought on the twentieth of Boedromion, in the firſt year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad*.

The names of the nations and individuals who diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt are ſtill preſerved. Among the former were the Æginetæ and the Athenians; among the latter, Polycritus of Ægina, and two Athenians, Eumenes and Aminias[e].

During the continuance of the battle, Xerxes was agitated by joy, apprehenſion, and deſpair. He alternately laviſhed promiſes, and dictated ſanguinary orders; making his ſecretaries enregiſter the names of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in the action, and his ſlaves put to death the officers who approached him to juſtify their conduct[f]. At length, no longer ſupported by hope or rage, he ſunk into a ſtate of profound dejection; and, though he had forces ſufficient to ſubdue the world, he ſaw his fleet ready to revolt, and the Greeks preparing to burn the bridge of boats he had thrown over the Helleſpont. A ſpeedy flight might have delivered him from theſe idle terrors[g]; but ſome remains of a ſenſe of decency or pride not allowing him to manifeſt ſo much weakneſs in the ſight of his enemies and courtiers, he ordered preparations to be made for a new attack, and a cauſeway to be formed to join the iſland of Salamis to the continent.

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[b] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 88.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 91 et 93.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
* The 20th of October of the year 480 before Chriſt. Dodwell. in Thucyd. p. 49.
[e] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 93.
[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
[g] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 97.

He next ſent away a courier to Suſa, as he had diſpatched one after the taking of Athens. On the arrival of the firſt, the inhabitants of that vaſt city flocked to the temples, and burnt perfumes in the ſtreets ſtrewed over with myrtle branches; on the arrival of the ſecond, they rent their garments, and every place reſounded with cries, groans, exclamations of fear for the ſafety of the king, and imprecations againſt Mardonius, the firſt author of the war [h].

The Perſians and Greeks were in expectation of a new battle; but Mardonius was by no means ſatisfied with the orders given by Xerxes: he read in the ſoul of that prince nothing but the meaneſt ſentiments combined with projects of revenge, to which he poſſibly might fall a victim. "My lord," ſaid he, approaching him, "deign to recal your courage: your expectations were not founded on your fleet, but on that formidable army with which you have intruſted me. The Greeks are no more able to reſiſt you now than heretofore: nothing can ſhelter them from the puniſhment due to their ancient offences, and the fruitleſs advantage they have lately gained. If we determine on a retreat, we ſhall for ever be the objects of their deriſion; and the opprobrium that has fallen on the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, and other nations who fought on board your veſſels, will recoil on your faithful Perſians. Suffer me to propoſe another method to ſave their glory and your own: I would adviſe you to lead back the greater part of your troops to Perſia, and leave me three hundred thouſand men, with whom I ſhall be able to reduce all Greece [i]."

Xerxes, who in his own mind was rejoiced at the propoſal, aſſembled his council, admitted to it Artemiſia, and requeſted her opinion on the project of Mardonius. The queen, diſguſted no doubt with ſerving ſuch a prince, and perſuaded that there are conjunctures in which to deliberate implies a

[h] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 99.

[i] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 100. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 13.

previous reſolution, adviſed him to return as ſoon as poſſible to his dominions. I ſhall report part of her anſwer, to give an idea of the language of the court of Suſa: "Leave to Mardonius the care of completing your work. If he ſucceeds, yours will be all the glory; if he periſhes, or is defeated, your empire will not, on that account, be ſhaken, nor Perſia conſider the loſs of a battle as any great misfortune, when you ſhall have ſecured your perſon [k]."

Xerxes no longer made any delay. His fleet had orders to repair immediately to the Helleſpont, and watch over the preſervation of the bridge of boats [l]; that of the Greeks purſued it as far as the iſle of Andros. Themiſtocles and the Athenians wiſhed to come up with it, and then burn the bridge; but Eurybiades ſtrongly repreſenting, that far from ſhutting up the Perſians in Greece, it was their intereſt, if poſſible, to procure them new paſſages to facilitate their retreat, the army of the allies ſuſpended the purſuit, and ſoon after proceeded to the port of Pagaſa, where it paſſed the winter.

Themiſtocles now procured ſecret intelligence to be conveyed to Xerxes. Some allege, that wiſhing, in caſe of his diſgrace, to ſecure himſelf an aſylum at the court of that prince, he made a merit of having diverted the Greeks from their intended project of burning the bridge [m]. According to others, he warned the king, that, unleſs he haſtened his departure, the Greeks would cut off his retreat to Aſia [n]. Be this as it may, ſome days after the battle, the king took the road to Theſſaly, where Mardonius ſent into winter quarters the three hundred thouſand men he had demanded and choſen from the whole army [o]: thence purſuing

[k] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 102.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 107.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 110.
[n] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 120. Nep. in Themiſt. cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
[o] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 113.

his route, he arrived on the borders of the Helleſpont with a very inconſiderable number of troops [p]; the remainder, for want of proviſions, had periſhed by diſorders, or diſperſed themſelves over Macedonia and Thrace. To complete his misfortune, the bridge no longer remained, having been deſtroyed by a tempeſt. The king threw himſelf into a boat, paſſed the ſea as a fugitive *, about ſix months after he had croſſed it as a conqueror [q], and repaired to Phrygia to build ſumptuous palaces, which he ſtudiouſly took care to fortify [r].

The firſt care of the victors, after the battle, was to tranſmit to Delphi the firſt fruits of the ſpoils they had divided: the generals next proceeded to the iſthmus of Corinth; and, agreeably to a cuſtom reſpectable from its antiquity, and ſtill more ſo from the emulation it inſpires, aſſembled near the altar of Neptune, to decree crowns to thoſe among them who had moſt contributed to the victory. The deciſion was not pronounced, each of the chiefs adjudging the firſt prize to himſelf, whilſt the greater part of them allowed the ſecond to be due to Themiſtocles.

Though, in conſequence, it was impoſſible to diſpute with him the firſt in the opinion of the public, he wiſhed to obtain an effective teſtimony in his favour from the Spartans, who received him at Lacedæmon with that high reſpect they themſelves merited, and made him a participator in the honours they decreed to Eurybiades. A crown of olive was the reward of both. At his departure he received new applauſes; a preſent was made him of the moſt beautiful chariot to be found in Lacedæmon; and to beſtow on him a diſtinction equally novel and illuſtrious, three hundred youths on horſeback, choſen from the firſt families of Sparta, were ordered to accompany him to the frontiers of Laconia [s].

[p] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 115.

* The 4th of December of the year 480 before Chriſt. Dodwell, p. 50.

[q] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 51 et 115.

[r] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. l. 1. p. 246.

[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 124.

In the mean time, Mardonius was preparing to terminate a war so disgraceful to Persia: he added fresh troops to those left him by Xerxes, without perceiving that to increase their number was to enfeeble them; he by turns solicited all the oracles of Greece [t]; he sent defiances to the allied nations, and proposed to them for the field of battle the plains of Bœotia, or those of Thessaly: in fine, resolving to detach the Athenians from the league, he sent to Athens Alexander king of Macedonia, who was connected with them by the ties of hospitality [u].

This prince, admitted to the assembly of the people at the same time with the ambassadors of Lacedæmon commissioned to frustrate the negociation, spoke as follows: "Thus saith Mardonius: I have received an order from the king conceived in these words—I forget the offences of the Athenians. Mardonius, execute my will; restore to that people their lands; give them others, if they desire it; preserve to them their laws, and rebuild the temples I have burnt. I thought proper to inform you of the intentions of my master; and I add, it is a folly on your part to attempt to resist the Persians; and a still greater folly to pretend to resist them long. If we even suppose, contrary to all probability, that you should gain the victory, another army would soon deprive you of the honour. Rush not therefore on destruction; but let a treaty of peace concluded with mutual security, rescue from danger your honour and your liberty." Alexander, after relating this message, laboured to convince the Athenians that they were not in a condition to contend with the power of Persia, and conjured them to prefer the friendship of Xerxes to every other interest [x].

"Listen not to the perfidious counsels of Alexander, exclaimed the ambassadors from Lacedæmon. He is a tyrant who serves another tyrant: by an unworthy artifice he has

[t] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 133.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 136.
[x] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 140.

falſified the inſtructions of Mardonius. The offers he makes you on his part are too ſeducing not to be ſuſpicious. You cannot accept them, without trampling under foot the laws of juſtice and of honour. Was it not you by whom this war was kindled? And ſhall thoſe Athenians who have at all times ſhown themſelves the moſt zealous defenders of liberty, be the firſt authors of our ſlavery? Lacedæmon, who makes theſe repreſentations to you by our mouths, commiſerates the wretched ſtate to which your ruined houſes and your ravaged fields reduce you: ſhe propoſes to you, in her name, and in the name of her allies, to maintain, and preſerve for you in truſt, for the remainder of the war, your wives, your children, and your ſlaves [y]."

The Athenians propoſed the matter for deliberation; and, agreeable to the opinion of Ariſtides, it was reſolved to anſwer the king of Macedonia, that he might have diſpenſed with his intelligence, that their forces were inferior to thoſe of the enemy, but that they were not on that account leſs diſpoſed to make the moſt vigorous reſiſtance to the barbarians; and counſelled him, when he had ſuch baſe propoſitions to offer to them in future, not to appear in their preſence, nor expoſe them to violate, in his perſon, the rights of hoſpitality and friendſhip [z].

It was alſo determined that they ſhould anſwer to the Lacedæmonians, that if Sparta had known the Athenians better, ſhe would not have ſuppoſed them capable of ſuch treachery, nor have endeavoured to retain them in her alliance by intereſted motives; that they would provide, as well as they could, for the neceſſities of their families, and thanked the allies for their generous offers; that they were attached to the league by ſacred and indiſſoluble ties, and that the only favour they demanded of the allies, was to ſend them ſpeedy ſuc-

[y] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 142.

[z] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 143. Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 156.

cours, as it was time to march into Bœotia, and prevent the enemy from penetrating a second time into Attica [a].

The ambaſſadors being again admitted, Ariſtides cauſed the decrees to be read in their preſence; then ſuddenly raiſing his voice, "Ambaſſadors of Lacedæmon," ſaid he, "inform the Spartans, that all the gold that circulates on the earth, or that ſtill lies hidden within its bowels, is nothing in our eyes to the value of our liberty. And you, Alexander, addreſſing himſelf to that prince, and pointing to the ſun, ſay to Mardonius, that as long as yon luminary ſhall revolve in the path marked out for him in the heavens, the Athenians will purſue the king of Perſia, till they ſhall have ſatisfied the vengeance due to their deſolated fields, and their temples reduced to aſhes [b]." To give ſtill greater ſolemnity to this engagement, he inſtantly procured a decree to be paſſed, by which the prieſts ſhould devote to the infernal deities all thoſe who maintained a correſpondence with the Perſians, or detached themſelves from the confederation of the Greeks.

Mardonius, informed of the reſolution of the Athenians, inſtantly marched his troops into Bœotia, and thence poured them into Attica, the inhabitants of which, a ſecond time, took refuge in the iſle of Salamis [c]. He was ſo flattered with gaining poſſeſſion of a deſerted country, that by ſignals placed from diſtance to diſtance, either on the iſles or continent, he gave notice of it to Xerxes, who was ſtill at Sardes in Lydia [d]; he attempted likewiſe to avail himſelf of this ſucceſs, to open a new negociation with the Athenians; but he received the ſame anſwer as before; and Lycidas, one of the ſenators, who had propoſed to liſten to the offers of the Perſian general, was ſtoned to death with his wife and children [e].

In the mean time, the allies, inſtead of ſending an army, as had been agreed on, into Attica, for[tified] themſelves on the

[a] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 144.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 143. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 324.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 23.
[d] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 3.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 5.

Iſthmus of Corinth, and appeared attentive only to the defence of the Peloponneſus [f]. The Athenians, alarmed at this project, ſent ambaſſadors to Lacedæmon, where feſtivals were celebrating which were to laſt for ſome days: they made known their complaints, but the anſwer was deferred from day to day. Offended at length with an inaction and a ſilence which too juſtly entitled them to ſuſpect ſome perfidy, they preſented themſelves, for the laſt time, to the ephori, and declared that Athens, betrayed by the Lacedæmonians, and abandoned by the other allies, was reſolved to turn her arms againſt them, by making her peace with the Perſians.

The ephori replied, that the preceding night they had ſent off, under the conduct of Pauſanias, guardian of the young king Pliſtarchus, five thouſand Spartans, and thirty-five thouſand ſlaves, or Helots, lightly armed [g]. Theſe troops, which were preſently increaſed by five thouſand Lacedæmonians, forming a junction with the confederated cities, marched from Eleuſis, and proceeded into Bœotia, whither Mardonius had brought back his army [h].

He had prudently avoided coming to an engagement in Attica. As that country is interſected by heights and defiles, he would neither have had it in his power to extend his cavalry in the battle, nor to ſecure a retreat in caſe of a defeat. Bœotia, on the contrary, afforded ſpacious plains, a fertile country, and a number of cities ready to receive the remains of his army; for, excepting the inhabitants of Platæa and Theſpiæ, all the ſtates of that part of Greece had declared in favour of the Perſians.

Mardonius pitched his camp in the plain of Thebes, along the river Aſopus, the left bank of which he occupied as far as the frontiers of the country of the Platæans *. To encloſe his baggage, and ſecure to himſelf a place of retreat, he cauſed

[f] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 6.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 11.
[h] Herodot. lib. 9 cap. 19.
* See plan of the battle of Platæa.

a ſpace of ten ſtadia ſquare *, to be ſurrounded with a deep ditch, and likewiſe with walls and wooden towers ‡. The Greeks were in his front, at the foot and on the declivity of Mount Cithæron. Ariſtides commanded the Athenians, and Pauſanias the whole army †.

Here the generals drew up the following form of an oath, which was taken with eagerneſs by the ſoldiers: "I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my leaders, neither during their lives, nor after their death; I will beſtow the honours of ſepulture on ſuch of the allies as ſhall fall in the battle: after the victory, I will deſtroy none of thoſe cities which ſhall have fought for Greece, and I will decimate all thoſe which ſhall have joined the enemy. I will not attempt to rebuild the temples they have burnt or demoliſhed, but ſuffer their ruins to remain, perpetually to remind our poſterity of the impious fury of the barbarians ‖."

An anecdote reported by an author almoſt contemporary with theſe events, may enable us to judge of the idea the greater part of the Perſians entertained of their general. Mardonius ſupped with an inhabitant of Thebes, with fifty of his general officers, as many Thebans, and Therſander, one of the principal citizens of Orchomenus. Towards the end of the entertainment, mutual confidence having taken place between the gueſts of both nations, a Perſian ſeated near Therſander, ſaid to him: "This table, the pledge of our faithful friendſhip, theſe libations we have made together in honour of the gods, inſpire me with a ſecret friendſhip for you. It is time to look to your ſafety: you ſee theſe Perſians who are abandoning themſelves to tranſports of joy; you have ſeen that army we have left on the banks of the river; alas! you will ſoon behold only its ſhattered remains." As he ſpake

* Above a mile. See table IX. vol. iv.

† Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 15. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 325.

‡ The two armies came in ſight of each other the 10th of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

‖ Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 158. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 23.

theſe words he ſhed tears. Therſander ſurpriſed, aſked him if he had communicated his apprehenſions to Mardonius, or thoſe whom he honoured with his confidence. "My dear hoſt," replied the ſtranger, "man cannot avoid his deſtiny. Numbers of Perſians, like me, have foreſeen that which is hanging over them, and we all ſuffer ourſelves to be hurried on by fatality. The greateſt misfortune of mankind is, that the wiſeſt amongſt them are always thoſe who have the leaſt influence [l]." The author I have quoted received this anecdote from Therſander himſelf.

Mardonius, perceiving that the Greeks perſiſted in maintaining the heights, ſent againſt them his whole cavalry, commanded by Maſiſtius, who ſtood in the higheſt degree of favour with Xerxes, and was held in univerſal eſtimation by the army. The Perſians, after inſulting the Greeks with reproaches of cowardice, fell on the Megareans encamped on a more level ſpot of ground, who, with the aſſiſtance of three hundred Athenians, made a conſiderably long reſiſtance. The death of Maſiſtius ſaved them from a total defeat, and terminated the action. This loſs was a ſubject of mourning for the Perſian army, and of triumph for the Greeks, who ſaw the body of Maſiſtius, which they had carried off from the enemy, paſs along all their ranks [m].

Notwithſtanding this advantage, the difficulty of procuring water, in preſence of an enemy who kept at a diſtance by their darts, all who attempted to approach the river, obliged them to change their poſition: they filed off along Mount Cithæron, and entered the country of the Platæans.

The Lacedæmonians poſted themſelves near a copious ſpring, named Gargaphia, which ſufficed for the wants of the whole army: the other allies in general were ſtationed on the eminences at the foot of the mountain; ſome of them in the plain, and all in front of the Aſopus.

[l] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 16.

[m] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 22, &c. Diod. Sic. l. 11. p. 24. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 327.

During this distribution of posts, a sharp dispute arose between the Athenians and Tegeatæ, who claimed equally the command of the left wing: both recounted their titles and the exploits of their ancestors. But Aristides terminated the difference. "We come not here," said he, "to contest with our allies, but to combat our enemies; we declare that it is not the post that confers or takes away valour. To you, O Lacedæmonians! we refer. Whatever rank you shall assign us, we will raise it to such a height that it will become perhaps the most honourable of all." The Lacedæmonians decided with acclamations in favour of the Athenians [n].

A more imminent danger caused the prudence of Aristides a still severer trial: he learned that some officers of his troops, belonging to the first families of Athens, were meditating an act of treachery in favour of the Persians, and that the conspiracy was daily gaining ground. Far from rendering it more formidable by inquiries which might have apprized the conspirators of their strength, he contented himself with arresting eight of the accomplices. The two most guilty fled. To the others he said, showing them the enemy: "The blood of the Persians alone can expiate your offence [o]."

Mardonius no sooner learned that the Greeks had retired into the territory of Platæa, than, marching his army up the river, he stationed it a second time within sight of the enemy. It consisted of three hundred thousand men drawn from the Asiatic nations, and about fifty thousand Bœotians, Thessalians, and other Grecian auxiliaries [p]. That of the confederates was about a hundred and ten thousand strong, sixty-nine thousand five hundred of whom were only lightly armed [q]. This army consisted of ten thousand Spartans and Lacedæmonians, eight thousand Athenians, five thousand Corinthians, three thousand Megareans, and various little detachments furnished

[n] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 26. Plut. in Arist. p. 326.
[o] Plut. in Arist. p. 326.
[p] Herod. lib. 9. cap. 32.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 30.

by ſeveral other ſtates or cities of Greece [r]. New levies were every day arriving. The Mantineans and the Eleans did not reach the camp till after the battle.

The armies had been within ſight of each other eight days, when a detachment of Perſian cavalry, paſſing the Aſopus in the night, intercepted a convoy from Peloponneſus which was deſcending from Mount Cithæron. The Perſians made themſelves maſters of this paſs *, and the Greeks were cut off from their proviſions [s].

The two following days their camp was inſulted by the cavalry of the enemy. Neither of the armies dared to paſs the river. The augur, on both ſides, whether of his own accord, or acted upon by foreign impreſſions, promiſed the victory reſpectively to his party, provided they kept on the defenſive [t].

On the eleventh day, Mardonius aſſembled his council †. Artabazus, one of the firſt officers of the army, propoſed to retire under the walls of Thebes, and not to riſk a battle, but to corrupt, by dint of money, the chief inhabitants of the allied cities. This meaſure, which was much approved by the Thebans, would inſenſibly have detached from the confederation the greater part of the ſtates of which it was compoſed; beſides that, the Grecian army, which was already in want of proviſions, would have been compelled in a few days to diſperſe, or give battle in the plain, which it had hitherto induſtriouſly avoided. Mardonius, however, rejected this propoſition with diſdain.

The following night ‡ a horſeman, eſcaping from the Perſian camp, and advancing towards the quarter of the Athenians, deſired them to inform their general that he had an important ſecret to communicate; and when Ariſtides arrived,

[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 28.

* The 17th of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Ann. Thucyd. p. 52.

[s] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 39.

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 36 et 37.

† The 20th of September. Id. ibid.

‡ The night between the 20th and the 21ſt of September.

this ſtranger thus addreſſed him: Mardonius in vain wearies the gods to procure favourable auſpices; their ſilence has hitherto retarded the battle. But the efforts of the augurs can no longer detain him. He will attack you to-morrow at break of day. I hope after your victory you will remember that I have riſked my life to ſecure you from a ſurpriſe: I am Alexander, king of Macedonia." Having thus ſpoken, he returned full ſpeed to the camp [u].

Ariſtides immediately repaired to the quarter of the Lacedæmonians. The moſt prudent plans were there concerted to repulſe the enemy: and Pauſanias adviſed a meaſure that Ariſtides himſelf had not dared to propoſe; which was to ſtation the Athenians oppoſite to the Perſians, and the Lacedæmonians to the Grecian auxiliaries. By this means, ſaid he, we ſhall both of us have to combat troops who have already experienced our valour. This reſolution taken, the Athenians, at the break of day, paſſed to the right wing, and the Lacedæmonians to the left. Mardonius penetrating their deſigns, inſtantly cauſed the Perſians to file off to his right, and did not recal them to their former poſt till he ſaw the enemy return to their firſt order of battle [x].

This general conſidered the motions of the Lacedæmonians only as ſigns of fear. In the intoxication of his pride he tauntingly reminded them of their ancient glory, and ſent them inſulting defiances. A herald diſpatched by him to Pauſanias, carried a propoſal to terminate the differences of Perſia and Greece, by a combat between a certain number of Spartans and Perſians. Receiving no anſwer, he put all his cavalry in motion, which haraſſed the army of the Greeks during the remainder of the day, and even found means to dam up the fountain of Gargaphia [y].

Deprived of this their only reſource, the Greeks determined to remove their camp a little farther, and retire to an

[u] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 327.
[x] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 46. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 328.
[y] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 49. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 718.

iſland formed by two branches of the Aſopus, one of which is named Peroe [z]; from whence they propoſed to detach half their troops to the paſs of Mount Cithæron, to diſlodge the Perſians who intercepted their convoys.

The camp broke up during the night *, with all the confuſion to be expected from the troops of ſo many independent ſtates, cooled by inaction, and alarmed by their frequent retreats, as well as the ſcarcity of proviſions: ſome repaired to the poſt aſſigned them; others, led aſtray by their guides, or by a panic terror, took refuge near the city of Platæa [a].

The departure of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians was delayed till dawn. The latter took the road of the plain; while the Lacedæmonians, followed by three thouſand Tegeatæ, filed along the foot of Mount Cithæron. Having arrived at the temple of Ceres, ten ſtadia from their former poſition, and at the ſame diſtance from the city of Platæa [b], they halted for one of their body who had long refuſed to abandon his poſt. Here they were overtaken by the Perſian cavalry, detached by Mardonius to impede their march. "Behold them," exclaimed this general to his officers; "behold thoſe intrepid Lacedæmonians, who, we were told, never retreat in preſence of an enemy: that vile people, diſtinguiſhed from the other Greeks, only by exceſs of cowardice, and who will ſoon ſuffer the puniſhment they juſtly merit [c]."

Immediately putting himſelf at the head of the warlike nation of the Perſians, and of his beſt ſoldiers, he paſſed the river and advanced rapidly into the plain. The troops of the other eaſtern nations tumultuouſly followed him, uttering loud ſhouts; and at the ſame inſtant his right wing, compoſed of the auxiliary Greeks, attacked the Athenians, and prevented them from affording any aſſiſtance to the Lacedæmonians.

[z] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 51. Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 718.

* The night between the 21ſt and 22d of September.

[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 52.

[b] Id. ibid. cap. 57.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 58.

Pauſanias having drawn up his men on a ſloping and uneven ſpot of ground near a ſmall rivulet, and the enclosure conſecrated to Ceres [d], left them long expoſed to the darts and arrows of the enemy, againſt which they did not venture to defend themſelves. The entrails of the victims were declared to portend only ſiniſter events. This wretched ſuperſtition occaſioned the loſs of a great number of ſoldiers, who leſs regretted the loſs of life than that their death ſhould be of ſo little utility to their country. At length the Tegeatæ, no longer able to reſiſt the ardour which animated them, began to move, and were ſoon ſupported by the Spartans who had juſt obtained, or contrived to procure, ſome favourable omens [e].

At their approach, the Perſians threw away their bows, and cloſing their ranks, covered themſelves with their bucklers, forming a compact body, which by its weight and impulſe checked and repelled the fury of the enemy. In vain are their fragile bucklers ſhivered in pieces; they break the lances that pierce them, and ſupply the deficiency of their weapons by a ferocious courage [f]. Mardonius, at the head of a thouſand choſen ſoldiers, long held the victory in ſuſpenſe; but preſently he falls, with a mortal wound. The troops attached to his perſon attempt to avenge his death, and are ſacrificed around his body. From this moment the Perſian hoſt was ſhaken, thrown into confuſion, and compelled to fly. Their cavalry for ſome time ſtopped the progreſs of the victor, but did not prevent him from reaching the foot of the intrenchment thrown up by the Perſians near the Aſopus, and in which the remains of their ſhattered army took refuge [g].

Similar ſucceſs had attended the Athenians on the left wing: they had experienced a very obſtinate reſiſtance from the

[d] *Herodot.* lib. 9. cap. 57 et 65. *Plut. in Ariſt.* p. 325. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 11. p. 24.

[e] *Herodot.* l. 9. cap. 62.

[f] *Plut. in Ariſt.* p. 329.

[g] *Herodot.* lib. 9. cap. 70.

Bœotians, but only feeble efforts on the part of the other allies of Xerxes, offended, no doubt, at the haughty conduct of Mardonius, and his obſtinacy in perſiſting to give battle on ground ſo diſadvantageous. In their flight the Bœotians hurried away with them the whole of the Perſian right wing [h].

Ariſtides, far from purſuing them, immediately proceeded to join the Lacedæmonians, who, little verſed in the art of conducting ſieges, were employed in fruitleſs attacks on the fortification by which the Perſians were defended. The arrival of the Athenians and the reſt of the confederated troops did not terrify the beſieged, who furiouſly repulſed the aſſailants; but the Athenians at length forcing the intrenchment, and deſtroying a part of the wall, the Greeks ruſhed into the camp, and the Perſians ſuffered themſelves to be ſlaughtered like victims [i].

Artabazus, who had under his command a body of forty thouſand men, but who had long been ſecretly offended at the choice Xerxes had made of Mardonius to command the army, had, from the beginning of the battle, advanced rather to be a ſpectator than with any view of contributing to its ſucceſs. He accordingly no ſooner ſaw the army of Mardonius give ground, than he ordered his troops to follow him; and taking to flight, took the road of Phocis, croſſed the ſea at Byzantium [k], and repaired to Aſia, where his having ſaved a part of the army was perhaps imputed to him as a merit. All the remainder, except about three thouſand men, periſhed, either in the intrenchment or the battle.

The nations that moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this memorable day were, on the one ſide, the Perſians and the Sacæ; and on the other, the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Tegea. Great encomiums were beſtowed by the victors on the valour of Mardonius, the Athenian Sophanes, and four Spartans, at the head of whom we muſt

[h] Herodot. lib. 9. cap 67.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 70. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 25.
[k] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 66 et 89.

place Ariſtodemus, who had reſolved on this occaſion to free himſelf from the diſgrace of not having ſacrificed his life at Thermopylæ. But the Lacedæmonians beſtowed no honours on his aſhes: they ſaid, that reſolved to die rather than to conquer, he had quitted his rank during the battle, and ſeemed rather actuated by the courage derived from deſpair than real valour [l].

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians and Athenians equally diſputed the palm of bravery; the former, becauſe they had beaten the beſt troops of Mardonius; the latter, becauſe they had forced them in their intrenchments: both aſſerted their pretenſions with a degree of haughtineſs from which it was impoſſible to recede. Their minds became irritated; the two camps reſounded with menaces, and they would have proceeded to blows, but for the prudence of Ariſtides, who prevailed on the Athenians to refer the queſtion to the deciſion of the allies. Theogiton of Megara now propoſed to the rival ſtates to renounce the prize, and adjudge it to ſome other people. Cleocritus of Corinth named the Platæans, and all the ſuffrages were united in their favour [m].

The earth was covered with the rich ſpoils of the Perſians; and gold and ſilver filled their tents. Pauſanias delivered the plunder into the cuſtody of the Helots [n]: the tenth part was reſerved for the temple of Delphi, and a conſiderable portion for monuments in honour of the gods. The victors ſhared the remainder, and brought into their country the firſt ſeeds of corruption [o].

All kinds of honours were conferred on thoſe who had died in arms. Each nation prepared a tomb for its warriors [p]; and Ariſtides procured a decree to be paſſed in an aſſembly of the generals: That the people of Greece ſhould every year ſend deputies to Platæa, there to perpetuate, by ſolemn ſacrifices, the

l Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 71.
m Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 331.
n Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 80.
o Juſtin. lib. 2 cap. 14.
p Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 85. Thucyd. lib. 3 cap. 58.

memory of thoſe who had loſt their lives in the battle; that every five years ſplendid games ſhould be there celebrated, and called the Feſtivals of Liberty; and that the Platæans, henceforward exempt from all cares but thoſe of offering up vows for the preſervation of Greece, ſhould be conſidered as an inviolate ſtate, conſecrated to the gods [q].

Eleven days after the battle *, the victors marched to Thebes, and demanded that the inhabitants ſhould deliver up ſuch of the citizens as had induced them to a ſubmiſſion to the Medes. On the refuſal of the Thebans, the city was beſieged, and in danger of being deſtroyed, had not one of the principal offenders conſented to ſurrender himſelf and the reſt of his faction into the hands of the allies. They flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to redeem their lives by the ſacrifice of the great ſums of money they had received from Mardonius; but Pauſanias, deaf to their offers, ſentenced them all to death [r].

The battle of Platæa was fought on the third of the month Boedromion [s], in the ſecond year of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad †. On the ſame day, the Grecian fleet, commanded by Leutychides king of Lacedæmon, and Xanthippus the Athenian, gained a ſignal victory over the Perſians [t], near the promontory of Mycale in Ionia, and the ſtates of that diſtrict, who had called them to their aſſiſtance, entered, after the engagement, into the general league [u].

Such was the concluſion of the war of Xerxes, better known by the name of the Median war: it had continued two years [x]: and never perhaps did ſuch memorable tranſactions occur in ſo ſhort an interval, nor ever did ſimilar events operate ſuch rapid revolutions, in the ideas, intereſts, and

[q] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 331.

* The 3d of October.

[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 88. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 26.

[s] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349. Id. in Camill. t. i. p. 138. In the life of Ariſtides, p. 330, he ſays it was on the 4th.

† The 22d of September of the year 479 before Chriſt. Dodwell in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

[t] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 90.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 106.

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 29.

governments of nations. Their effects were different on the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, according to the diverſity of their character and inſtitutions. The former ſought for repoſe after their ſucceſſes, and ſuffered only a few marks of jealouſy to eſcape them againſt the Athenians. The latter ſuddenly abandoned themſelves to the moſt immoderate ambition, and propoſed at once to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the pre-eminence they had hitherto held in Greece, and to protect the Ionians, who had juſt recovered their liberty, againſt the Perſians.

The different ſtates of Greece at length recovered breath: the Athenians re-eſtabliſhed themſelves amidſt the ruins of their unfortunate city, and rebuilt its walls, notwithſtanding the complaints of the allies, who began to dread the increaſing glory of that people; and in deſpite of the repreſentations of the Lacedæmonians, who gave it as their opinion that it would be proper to diſmantle all the fortified towns of Greece ſituated without Peloponneſus, that on any new invaſion they might not ſerve as a retreat for the Perſians [y]. Themiſtocles found means to divert the ſtorm then impending over the Athenians. He ſtill further induced them to make a harbour at the Piræus, defended by a ſtrong wall [z], to build yearly a certain number of galleys, and offer privileges and immunities to ſtrangers, and eſpecially to mechanics, who ſhould come to ſettle in their city [a].

At the ſame time, the allies prepared to reſtore to their freedom the Grecian cities in which the Perſians had left garriſons. A numerous fleet, under the command of Pauſanias and Ariſtides, obliged the enemy to abandon the iſle of Cyprus and the city of Byzantium, ſituated on the Helleſpont [b]. Theſe ſucceſſes completed the ruin of Pauſanias,

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 90. Plut. in Themiſt. p 121. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 31.
[z] Plut. in Themiſt. ibid. Nep. in Themiſt. cap. 6.
[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 33.
[b] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 94. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 34.

who, from this time, was incapable of ſupporting his glory and good fortune with moderation.

He was no longer that rigid Spartan, who, in the fields of Platæa, derided the pomp and ſlavery of the Medes [c]; he was become a ſatrap, totally ſubdued by the manners of the vanquiſhed people, and perpetually ſurrounded by foreign guards, who rendered him inacceſſible [d]. The allies, who could only obtain from him harſh and humiliating anſwers, or imperious and ſanguinary orders, revolted at length againſt a tyranny become ſtill more odious from the conduct of Ariſtides, who, to conciliate the minds of men, employed the moſt powerful of all inſtruments, mildneſs and juſtice. The confederate nations, therefore, propoſed to the Athenians to fight under their orders [e].

The Lacedæmonians, informed of this defection, immediately recalled Pauſanias, who was at once accuſed of oppreſſion towards the allies, and ſuſpected of a correſpondence with the Perſians. Sufficient proofs were adduced of his tyranny and oppreſſion, and he was deprived of the command [f]. His treaſon ſoon after became equally manifeſt, and he was put to death [g]. This puniſhment, however exemplary, did not produce its effect on the allies: they refuſed to obey the Spartan Dorcis, who ſucceeded to Pauſanias [h]; and this general reſigning his command, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the meaſures proper to be adopted.

Their claim to command the combined army of the Greeks was founded on the moſt reſpectable titles. It had hitherto been admitted by all the nations of Greece, not excepting the Athenians [i]. Sparta had exerciſed this right, not to extend her dominions, but every where to deſtroy tyranny [k]. The

[c] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 82.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 130. Nep. in Pauſan. cap. 3.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 95. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. p. 34. Plut. in Ariſt. p. 333. Nep. in Ariſt. cap. 2.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 131.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 134. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 35.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 95.
[i] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 2 et 3. Nep. in Ariſt. cap. 2.
[k] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 18. Plut. in Lyc. t. 1. p. 58.

wiſdom of her laws often rendered her the arbiter of the Grecian ſtates; and the equity of her deciſions had induced many of them to increaſe the number of her allies. What a moment too was choſen to deſpoil her of her prerogative! The very moment when, under the conduct of her generals, the Greeks had gained the moſt brilliant of victories.

Reflections like theſe filled the Spartans with rage and indignation. They threatened the allies, and were meditating the invaſion of Attica, when a ſenator, named Hetæmaridas, ventured to repreſent to the warriors who ſurrounded him, that their generals, after the moſt glorious ſucceſſes, brought nothing back to their country but the ſeeds of corruption; that the example of Pauſanias ſhould make them tremble at the thought of chooſing him a ſucceſſor; and that it was advantageous to the republic to yield to the Athenians the empire of the ſea, and the care of continuing the war againſt the Perſians [l].

This diſcourſe ſurpriſed, and quickly calmed the minds of the aſſembly. The braveſt nation in the world was ſeen to prefer her virtues to her vengeance, and lay aſide her jealouſy at the voice of reaſon. The genius of Lycurgus ſtill reigned in Sparta; and never perhaps did ſhe diſplay more real courage and true greatneſs.

The Athenians, who, far from expecting ſuch a ſacrifice, were prepared to aſſert their claim by force of arms, admired a moderation they were incapable of imitating; and, whilſt a rival nation was thus diveſting itſelf of a portion of its power, their anxiety was but the greater to procure the honourable privilege of commanding the naval armies of Greece to be confirmed to them by the allies [m].

This new ſyſtem of confederation was to be juſtified by new enterpriſes, and gave birth to new projects. The firſt ſtep was to regulate the neceſſary contributions for continuing the

[l] Id. lib. 1. cap. 75 et 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 38.

[m] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 333.

war againſt the Perſians. All the ſtates committed their intereſts to the integrity of Ariſtides, who viſited all parts of the continent and the iſlands, informed himſelf of the produce of the lands, and gave ſuch proofs of intelligence and equity in his whole conduct of this buſineſs, that even thoſe on whom the taxes were levied conſidered him as their benefactor [n]. As ſoon as this taxation was finiſhed, it was reſolved to attack the Perſians.

The Lacedæmonians took no part in this deliberation; they now were only intent on peace, while the Athenians breathed nothing but war. This contrariety of views had more than once been diſplayed. After the battle of Mycale, the people of Peloponneſus headed by the Lacedæmonians, wiſhed to remove the Ionians to the continent of Greece, and beſtow on them the maritime places poſſeſſed by the nations which had entered into alliance with the Perſians. By this tranſmigration, the Greeks would have been freed from the burden of protecting the Ionians, and the inevitable rupture between Aſia and Europe been, at leaſt for ſome time, retarded. But the Athenians rejected this propoſal, pretending that the fate of their colonies ought not to depend on the allies [o]. It was neceſſary at leaſt to affix a ſort of ſtigma on the different ſtates of Greece, who had joined their forces to thoſe of Xerxes, or remained inactive. The Lacedæmonians propoſed to exclude them from the aſſembly of the Amphictyons; but Themiſtocles, wiſhing to procure for his country the alliance of the Argives, Thebans, and Theſſalians, repreſented, that, by excluding theſe ſtates from that aſſembly, two or three powerful cities would diſpoſe of all the ſuffrages at their pleaſure. He thus defeated the propoſition of the Lacedæmonians, and drew on himſelf their hatred [p].

He had merited that of the allies by his exactions, and the acts of violence he had exerciſed in the iſles of the Ægean

[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 106.
[p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.

ſea. A multitude of individuals complained of his injuſtice, others of the riches he had amaſſed, and all of his inordinate thirſt for power. Envy, which carefully collected his moſt triſling words and actions, enjoyed the cruel pleaſure of caſting a cloud over his glory. He himſelf ſaw it diminiſh from day to day, and to maintain its ſplendour even deſcended to weary the people with the recital of his exploits, not perceiving that it is as dangerous as fruitleſs to recal to mind forgotten ſervices. He built near his houſe a temple dedicated to DIANA, THE INSPIRER OF GOOD COUNSELS. This inſcription, the memorial of thoſe he had given the Athenians during the Median war, had the appearance of a reproach, and conſequently of an inſult offered to the nation. His enemies prevailed: he was baniſhed *, and retired to Peleponneſus; but ſoon after, having been accuſed of carrying on a criminal correſpondence with Artaxerxes, the ſucceſſor of Xerxes, he was driven from city to city [q], and conſtrained to take refuge with the Perſians, who honoured in their ſuppliant vanquiſher thoſe talents which had humbled them, but were now no longer formidable. He died ſeveral years after †.

The Athenians were ſcarcely ſenſible of this loſs, ſince they poſſeſſed Ariſtides, and Cimon ſon of Miltiades. The latter united to the valour of his father the prudence of Themiſtocles, and almoſt all the virtues of Ariſtides, whoſe example he had ſtudied, and to whoſe leſſons he had ever been attentive [r]. To him was intruſted the command of the Grecian fleet: he ſet ſail for Thrace, made himſelf maſter of a city where the Perſians had a garriſon, deſtroyed the pirates who infeſted the neighbouring ſeas, and ſpread terror through thoſe iſlands which had detatched themſelves from the league [s].

* Towards the year 471 before C.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 135. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 42. Plut. in Them. p. 122 et 123.

† Towards the year 449 before C.

[r] Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

[s] Id. ibid. p. 483. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 98.

He ſoon after ſailed from the Piræus with two hundred galleys, which were joined by a hundred others furniſhed by the allies. By his preſence, or his arms, he obliged the cities of Caria and Lycia to declare againſt the Perſians; and, falling in with the fleet of the latter, conſiſting of two hundred veſſels [t], off the iſle of Cyprus, he ſunk part of them, and took the remainder: on the ſame evening, arriving on the coaſts of Pamphylia, where the Perſians had collected a numerous army, he diſembarked his troops, attacked and diſperſed the enemy, and returned with a great number of priſoners, and a large quantity of rich ſpoils, which he ſet apart for the embelliſhment of Athens [u].

This double victory was ſoon followed by the conqueſt of the Thracian peninſula [x]; and other advantages, gained in the courſe of ſeveral years, ſucceſſively increaſed the glory of the Athenians, and their confidence in their troops.

The ſtrength of their allies diminiſhed in the ſame proportion. Exhauſted by a war which daily became more foreign to their intereſts, the greater part refuſed to furniſh their contingent of ſhips and ſoldiers. The Athenians at firſt employed menaces and violence to compel them; but Cimon, actuated by profounder views, propoſed to them to keep at home their troops and their ſailors, to increaſe their pecuniary contributions, and ſend their galleys, which ſhould be navigated by Athenians [y]. By this artful policy he deprived them of their navy; and, plunging them into a fatal ſtate of repoſe, gave ſuch a ſuperiority to his country, that ſhe ceaſed to pay the leaſt attention to the allies. Ariſtides and Cimon indeed retained ſome of them by continued marks of reſpect; but Athens, by her haughtineſs, compelled the others to ſeparate from her alliance, and puniſhed them for their defection, by reducing them to ſlavery.

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[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 100.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 47.
[x] Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 99. Plut. in Cim. p. 485.

In this manner ſhe took poſſeſſion of the iſles of Scyros and of Naxos [z]; and obliged the inhabitants of the iſland of Thaſos, after a long ſiege, to raſe the walls of their capital, and reſign to the victors their ſhips, their gold mines, and the territory they poſſeſſed on the continent [a].

Theſe proceedings were manifeſt infractions of the treaty which Ariſtides had entered into with the allies, and of which the obſervance was guarded by the moſt tremendous oaths. But Ariſtides exhorted the Athenians to avert on his head the puniſhment due to their perjuries [b]. It ſeemed as if virtue itſelf began to be corrupted by ambition.

Athens was now in a ſtate of continual war; and the object of this war was twofold; the one, of which they made no ſecret, was to maintain the liberty of the cities of Ionia; the other, which they were fearful of avowing, to wreſt that ſame liberty from all the ſtates of Greece.

The Lacedæmonians, at length rouſed by the complaints of the allies, had reſolved, during the ſiege of Thaſos, to make a diverſion in Attica [c]: but at the moment this project was to be carried into execution, Sparta was deſtroyed by dreadful earthquakes, and a conſiderable number of its inhabitants periſhed beneath the ruins. The ſlaves revolted, ſeveral of the cities of Laconia followed their example, and the Lacedæmonians were compelled to implore the aſſiſtance of that people * whoſe ambitious progreſs they had wiſhed to ſtop. One of the orators of Athens counſelled his countrymen to ſuffer the only power they had to fear in Greece to ſink beneath its calamities; but Cimon, convinced that the rivalry of Sparta was more advantageous to the Athenians even than their conqueſts, found means to inſpire them with more generous ſentiments [d]. On various occaſions they joined their

[z] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 98. Plut. in Cim. p. 483.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 101. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 53. Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
[b] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 334.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101.
* Towards the year 464 before C.
[d] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.

troops with thoſe of Lacedæmon; and this important ſervice, which ſhould have united the two nations, ſowed the ſeeds of a hatred between them that gave birth to the moſt fatal wars [e]. The Lacedæmonians, imagining they perceived a ſecret correſpondence between the revolters and the Athenian generals, entreated them, under plauſible pretences, to withdraw their forces; but the Athenians, irritated at ſuch a ſuſpicion, broke the treaty by which they had been allied to the Lacedæmonians from the commencement of the Median war, and loſt no time in concluding another with the people of Argos, who had long been the enemies of Sparta [f].

During theſe tranſactions, Inarus, ſon of Pſammetichus, having excited an inſurrection in Egypt againſt Artaxerxes, king of Perſia [g], ſolicited the protection of the Athenians *. The deſire of enfeebling the Perſians, and of procuring the alliance of the Egyptians, determined the republic ſtill more than the offers of Inarus. Cimon ſailed to Egypt with the allied fleet, conſiſting of two hundred veſſels [h]. He aſcended the Nile, and joined that of the Egyptians, who defeated the Perſians, and made themſelves maſters of Memphis, except one quarter of the city, in which the ſhattered remains of the Perſian army had taken refuge. The revolt of the Egyptians was not ſuppreſſed till ſix years after: the valour of the Athenians and other Greeks alone prolonged its duration. After the loſs of a battle, they defended themſelves ſixteen months in an iſland formed by two branches of the Nile, and moſt of them periſhed ſword in hand. It muſt be obſerved, that Artaxerxes, to oblige the Grecian troops to quit Egypt, had in vain attempted, by offers of rich preſents, to induce the Lacedæmonians to make an irruption into Attica [i].

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[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49.

[f] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 102. Diod. Sic. ibid p. 48. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 339.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 104. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 54.

* Towards the year 462 before C.

[h] Thucyd lib. 1. cap. 110. Plut. in Cim. p. 490.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 56.

Whilſt the Athenians were combating at a diſtance to give a king to Egypt, they attacked in Europe the inhabitants of Corinth and Epidaurus; they triumphed over the Bœotians and Sicyonians; they diſperſed the fleet of Peloponneſus, and forced the people of Ægina to give up their ſhips, pay a tribute, and demoliſh their walls [k]; they ſent troops into Theſſaly, to reſtore Oreſtes to the throne of his anceſtors [l]; they kept all the people of Greece in motion by ſecret intrigues, or adventurous enterpriſes; furniſhing ſuccours to ſome, and forcing others to ſupply them; uniting to their territory the countries that lay convenient; forming ſettlements wherever they were invited by commerce; continually in arms, and continually hurried on to new expeditions by a rapid ſucceſſion of victories and misfortunes.

Colonies, ſometimes conſiſting of ten thouſand men [m], left their native country to cultivate the lands of the vanquiſhed [n]. Theſe emigrations, with the frequent wars in which the Athenians engaged, would have depopulated Attica, had not foreigners thronged into this little country, invited by the decree of Themiſtocles, which there offered them an aſylum, and ſtill more by the deſire of participating in the glory and advantage of ſuch numerous conqueſts.

The immoderate ambition of the republic was too well ſeconded by able and enterpriſing generals. Such were Myronides, who took Phocis, and almoſt all Bœotia, in a ſingle campaign [o]; Tolmidas, who about the ſame time ravaged the coaſts of Peloponneſus [p]; and Pericles, who now began to lay the foundation of his glory, and availed himſelf of the frequent abſence of Cimon to obtain a deciſive influence over the minds of the people.

The Athenians did not now wage direct war with Lacedæmon, but exerciſed frequent hoſtilities againſt her and her

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 105 et 108. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 59 et 63.
[l] Id ibid. cap. 111.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 54.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 67. Plut. in Per. p. 163.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 63. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 108.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 64. Thucyd. ibid.

allies. In concert with the Argives, they on one occaſion attempted to oppoſe the return of a body of troops, whom their particular intereſts had led from Peloponneſus into Bœotia. The battle was fought near the city of Tanagra *. The Athenians were defeated, and the Lacedæmonians quietly continued their march [q]. The former now dreaded an open rupture. On theſe occaſions the republic bluſhed at her injuſtice, and her leaders laid aſide their rivalry. All eyes were turned towards Cimon, whom they had exiled a few years before; and Pericles, who had procured his baniſhment, undertook to propoſe the decree for his recal [r].

This great man, honoured with the eſteem of the Spartans, and ſecure in the confidence of the Athenians, exerted all his endeavours to recal them to pacific views [s], and prevailed on them at leaſt to ſign a truce for five years †. But as the Athenians could no longer bear the inactivity of peace, he loſt no time in leading them into Cyprus, where he gained ſuch ſignal advantages over the Perſians, as to compel Artaxerxes to ſue for a peace as a ſuppliant ‡. The conditions were humiliating for the great king, and ſuch as he would himſelf have dictated to a band of robbers, who had infeſted the frontiers of his kingdom. He acknowledged the independence of the Greek cities of Ionia, and it was ſtipulated that his ſhips of war ſhould not enter the ſeas of Greece, nor his land troops approach nearer to the coaſt than the diſtance of three days march. The Athenians, on their part, ſwore to make no inroads on the territories of Artaxerxes [t].

Such were the laws which a city of Greece impoſed on the greateſt empire of the world. Thirty years before, the reſolution of the ſame city to reſiſt that power, was conſidered as the mere effect of deſperation, and her ſucceſs as a prodigy. Cimon did not long enjoy his glory: he ended his

* Towards the year 456 before C.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 108.
[r] Plut. in Cim. p. 490.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 112. Plut.
† The year 450 before Chriſt.
‡ The year 449 before Chriſt.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 74.

days in Cyprus. With his death terminated the profperity of the Athenians; and here I ſhould conclude this part of their hiſtory, had I not to collect a few circumſtances that characterize the age in which he lived.

When the Perſians invaded Greece, two motives of fear induced the Athenians to make a vigorous reſiſtance: the dread of ſlavery, which in free nations has at all times produced more virtues than the principles of their political inſtitutions; and the dread of public ignominy, which among all nations is often ſubſtituted for virtue. The former operated more powerfully on the Athenians, as they began to enjoy that liberty which had coſt them two ages of diſſenſions; the latter they owed to their education and long habit. At this period they were happily under the dominion of that modeſty [u] which bluſhes at licentiouſneſs as well as cowardice; which inclines every citizen to confine himſelf within the limits of his condition, or thoſe aſſigned him by his abilities; which makes the law a check for the powerful, the practice of his duties a reſource for the feeble, and renders the eſteem of his fellow-citizens indiſpenſable to every one.

Men ſhunned employments, becauſe they were worthy of them [x]; none ventured to aſpire to diſtinctions, becauſe the reſpect of the public ſufficed to recompenſe ſervices rendered to the ſtate. Never were greater actions performed than in this age; never were men more remote from the idea that the glory of ſuch actions ſhould be confined to a few individuals. Statues were erected in honour of Solon, of Harmodius, and Ariſtogiton; but it was not till after their death. Ariſtides and Themiſtocles ſaved the republic, but that republic did not even decree them a ſingle crown of laurel [y]. When Miltiades, after the battle of Marathon, ſolicited that honour in the aſſembly of the people, ſome one roſe up, and ſaid: "Miltiades, when you ſhall alone repulſe the barbarians, you

[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 699.
[x] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 328.
[y] Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſiph. p. 457.

alone ſhall be honoured with a crown [z]." Not long after, ſome Athenian troops, under the command of Cimon, gaining conſiderable advantages in Thrace, on their return demanded a reward. In the commemorative inſcriptions that were engraven, a general eulogium was paſſed on the troops, but no perſon was particularly named [a].

As each citizen might be uſeful, and was not liable to be humiliated every inſtant by unjuſt diſtinctions, all knew they had it in their power to acquire perſonal reſpect; and, as manners were pure and ſimple, they poſſeſſed in general that independence and dignity, which men loſe only by the multiplicity of wants and intereſts.

I ſhall not adduce, as doing honour to this age, the diſtinguiſhed homage rendered by the Athenians to the integrity of Ariſtides. This happened at a repreſentation of one of the dramas of Æſchylus. The actor having ſaid that Amphiaraus was leſs anxious to appear a man of worth than really to be ſo, every eye was immediately turned towards Ariſtides [b]. A nation that is corrupted might make a ſimilar application: but the Athenians had always more deference for the opinions of Ariſtides than for thoſe of Themiſtocles; and this we ſhould not have ſeen in a corrupted nation.

After their ſucceſſes againſt the Perſians; the pride attendant on victory [c] united itſelf in their hearts with the virtues by which that victory had been procured; and this pride appeared the more well founded, as men had never fought in a more juſt or more important cauſe.

When a poor and virtuous nation ſuddenly attains a certain point of elevation, one of two things muſt neceſſarily happen; either that to preſerve its conſtitution it ſhall renounce every idea of aggrandizement, in which caſe it peaceably enjoys its own eſteem, and the reſpect of other nations, which happened to

[z] Plut. in Cim. p. 483.
[a] Æſchin. Orat. cont. Cteſiph. p. 458. Plut. in Cim. p. 482.
[b] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 320.
[c] Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 779.

the Lacedæmonians; or that it ſhall determine at any rate to increaſe its power, and then it becomes unjuſt and oppreſſive, as was the caſe with the Athenians.

Themiſtocles led them aſtray in the path he pointed out to them; and their leading ſtateſmen, far from moderating, ſeemed only attentive to inflame their ardour.

On the ſecond invaſion of the Perſians, Miltiades propoſed to meet the enemy in the open field [d]. This project was worthy the conqueror of Marathon. That of Themiſtocles was perhaps ſtill bolder: he ventured to adviſe the Athenians to truſt their fate to a naval combat. There were powerful reaſons againſt this plan of defence. The Athenians ſcarcely knew how to ſteer their feeble ſhips; they had no experience in maritime engagements. It was impoſſible to foreſee that Xerxes would attack the Greeks in a ſtrait; and how could Themiſtocles flatter himſelf, as he aſſerted, that he ſhould be able at all events to force a paſſage through the Perſian fleet, and ſafely convey the people of Athens to a diſtant country? However this may be, ſucceſs juſtified Themiſtocles.

But if the eſtabliſhment of a navy proved the ſalvation of Athens, it ſoon became the inſtrument of her ambition and her ruin [e]. Themiſtocles, who wiſhed to render his country the moſt powerful ſtate in Greece, that he might be the firſt citizen of that ſtate, gave orders to form a new port, to build an additional number of galleys, and put on board the fleet the ſoldiers, artiſans, huſbandmen, and that multitude of ſtrangers he had brought to Athens from every nation. After counſelling them to ſpare the ſtates on the continent who had joined Xerxes, he attacked without mercy the iſlands which had been under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Perſians [f]; he ſeized on their treaſures; and on his return to his country purchaſed partiſans, whom he retained and diſguſted by his oſtentation. Cimon and the other generals, enriched by the

[d] Steſimbr. ap. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 113.

[e] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 393.

[f] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.

ſame means, diſplayed a magnificence hitherto unknown: after the example of Themiſtocles, they had now no other object but to concur in the aggrandizement of the republic; an idea that prevailed in every mind.

The people, elated with pride at ſeeing their generals lay at their feet the ſpoils and voluntary or forced ſubmiſſions of the cities united to their dominions, impetuouſly diſperſed themſelves over all the ſeas, and appeared on every coaſt, multiplying conqueſts which inſenſibly perverted the character of the national valour: for theſe courageous ſoldiers, who had braved death in the fields of Marathon and Platæa, now ſervilely occupied in maritime operations, were, for the moſt part, employed only in attempting cautious deſcents, ſurpriſing defenceleſs towns, and ravaging abandoned fields; a ſpecies of war that teaches men to eſtimate their comparative ſtrength, to approach the enemy with care and fear, and to take to flight without a bluſh [g].

The national manners received the fatal blow which an intercourſe with foreigners, the rivalry of power or influence, the ſpirit of conqueſt, and the thirſt of gain, inevitably give to a government founded on virtue. That multitude of obſcure citizens who ſerved on board the fleets, and to whom the republic owed every attention, ſince ſhe owed to them her glory, contracted in their expeditions the vices of pirates; and, becoming every day more enterpriſing, ruled without controul in the public aſſembly, and transferred the authority into the hands of the multitude, an almoſt unavoidable conſequence in a ſtate poſſeſſing a flouriſhing navy [h]. Two or three anecdotes will ſhow how very ſoon the principles of right and equity became enfeebled among the people.

Some months after the battle of Platæa, Themiſtocles publicly declared that he had conceived an important project, the ſucceſs of which could only be ſecured by the moſt im-

[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 706.

[h] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 389. et 399. Plut. in Them. p. 121.

penetrable ſecrecy. The people anſwered: "Let it be communicated to Ariſtides, we refer ourſelves to him." Themiſtocles drew the latter aſide, and ſaid to him: "The fleet of our allies is now lying, without ſuſpicion, in the port of Pagaſæ; I propoſe to burn it, and we are maſters of Greece." "Athenians," ſaid Ariſtides, "nothing can be more for your intereſt than the project of Themiſtocles; but nothing can be ſo unjuſt." We will hear no more of it, exclaimed the whole aſſembly with one voice [i].

Some years after, the Samians propoſed to the Athenians to violate an article of the treaty entered into with the allies. The people aſked the opinion of Ariſtides: "The propoſal of the Samians is unjuſt," anſwered he, "but it is to your intereſt." The people approved the project of the Samians [k]. In a word, after a ſhort interval of time, and under Pericles, the Athenians, on more occaſions than one, had the inſolence to avow that the only law of nations they were acquainted with was force [l].

SECT. II.

AGE OF PERICLES *.

PERICLES very early perceived, that his birth and riches gave him claims to power, and rendered him ſuſpected by his fellow citizens. His fears were augmented by other circumſtances. Some old men, who had known Piſiſtratus, thought they diſcovered him again in the young Pericles, who they affirmed had the ſame features, the ſame tone of voice, and the ſame powers of eloquence [m]: it was neceſſary to obtain a pardon for this reſemblance, and its concomitant advan-

i Plut. in Ariſt. p. 332. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.
k Id. in Ariſt. p. 334.
l Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 89, &c.

* From the year 444 to the year 404 before Chriſt.
m Plut. in Per. p. 155.

tages. Pericles dedicated his early years to the ſtudy of philoſophy, without interfering in public affairs, and appeared to court no other diſtinction but that of valour [n].

After the death of Ariſtides and the exile of Themiſtocles, Cimon took the reins of government; but, frequently occupied with diſtant expeditions, left the Athenians to fluctuate between ſeveral candidates, incapable of fixing their confidence. Pericles was now ſeen to withdraw himſelf from ſociety, renounce pleaſures, and attract the attention of the multitude by a ſolemn ſtep, a decent carriage, a modeſt exterior, and irreproachable manners [o]. At length he appeared in the aſſembly, and his firſt eſſays aſtoniſhed the Athenians. He was indebted to nature for making him the moſt eloquent of men, and to ſtudy for perfecting what he had received from nature, and rendering him the firſt of the Grecian orators [p].

The celebrated maſters who had inſtructed his infancy, continuing to guide him by their counſels, taught him the firſt principles of politics and morals: his genius made their knowledge his own [q]; hence that profundity, that plenitude of information, that force of ſtyle, which he could occaſionally ſoften, thoſe graces which he did not neglect but never affected, and other innumerable great qualities that enabled him to perſuade ſuch as he could not convince, and to impel even thoſe who were alike inſenſible to perſuaſion and conviction.

His diſcourſes diſcovered a commanding majeſty that overwhelmed the mind. This was the fruit of his converſations with the philoſopher Anaxagoras, who, by explaining to him the principles of beings and the phænomena of nature, ſeemed to have raiſed to ſtill greater ſublimity his naturally elevated mind [r].

[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 154 et 155.
[p] Cicer. de Clar. orat. cap. 11. t. 1. p. 345. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.
[q] Plut. in Per. p. 156.
[r] Id. ibid.

Nor was the dexterity with which he preſſed his adverſaries and eluded their purſuits leſs admired. For this he was indebted to the philoſopher Zeno of Elea, who had more than once conducted him through the mazes of a captious logic, to diſcover to him its ſecret iſſues [s]; one of the greateſt antagoniſts of Pericles therefore often ſaid: "When I have got him down, and am holding him under me, he cries out that he is not vanquiſhed, and perſuades every body to believe him [t]."

Pericles knew the Athenians too well not to found his hopes on his eloquence, and was too well acquainted with the excellence of that endowment not to be the firſt to reſpect it. Before he appeared in public, he ſecretly endeavoured ſtrongly to impreſs his mind with the idea that he was about to addreſs free men, Greeks, and Athenians [u].

He refrained, notwithſtanding, as much as poſſible, from appearing at the aſſembly, becauſe, always intent on purſuing gradually the project of raiſing himſelf to power, he feared by new ſucceſſes to obliterate the impreſſion made by thoſe he had before obtained, and too precipitately to carry the admiration of the people to that point whence it only can deſcend. The public judged that an orator, who diſdained the applauſes he was certain of receiving, merited the confidence he did not ſeek, and that the affairs he propoſed for diſcuſſion muſt be important indeed, ſince they had conſtrained him to break ſilence [x].

A high idea was formed of the power he had over his own paſſions, when one day that the aſſembly continued its deliberations until night, they ſaw him perpetually interrupted and inſulted by a ſimple individual, who followed him with revilings even to his houſe, where Pericles coolly directed one of his ſlaves to take a flambeau and light the man home [y].

[s] Id. ibid. p. 154.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 156. Id. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 802.
[u] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 185.
[x] Plut. in Per. p. 155.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 154.

When it was obſerved, in ſhort, that he diſplayed in every thing not only the talent, but even the virtue adapted to the circumſtance; in his domeſtic life, the ſimplicity and frugality of ancient times; in the adminiſtration of public affairs, an unalterable diſintereſtedneſs and probity; in the command of armies, a careful attention to leave nothing to chance, and to riſk his reputation rather than the ſafety of the ſtate [z]; men concluded that a mind capable of contemning praiſe and inſult, wealth, ſuperfluities, and even glory itſelf, could not but poſſeſs that noble zeal for the public good that annihilates all other paſſions, or at leaſt concentrates them in a ſingle ſentiment.

It was this illuſion above all that raiſed Pericles; and he found means to maintain the character he had acquired forty years [a], in the midſt of an enlightened people, jealous of their authority, and who as eaſily tired of their admiration as their obedience.

He firſt ſhared the public favour before he obtained it undivided. Cimon was at the head of the nobles and the rich; Pericles declared in favour of the multitude he deſpiſed, which gave him a conſiderable party. Cimon, who by lawful means had acquired an immenſe fortune in his expeditions, employed it in embelliſhing the city and in relieving the wretched. Pericles, by the aſcendency he had gained, diſpoſed of the public treaſure of the Athenians and their allies, filled Athens with the nobleſt productions of art, aſſigned penſions to the pooreſt citizens, diſtributed among them part of the conquered lands, augmented the number of the feſtivals, and granted an emolument to thoſe who ſat as judges in the courts, and thoſe who ſhould be preſent at the ſpectacles and general aſſemblies [b]. The people ſeeing only the hand that gave, ſhut their eyes to the ſource from whence it drew. They became

[z] Id. ibid. p. 161, 162, &c.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 161.
[b] Ariſtot. de Rep lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336. Plut. in Per. p. 156 et 157.

more and more united to Pericles, who, to attach them ſtill more ſtrongly to himſelf, rendered them the accomplices of the repeated acts of injuſtice of which he was guilty, and made uſe of them to ſtrike thoſe great ſtrokes which by manifeſting power augment it. He procured the baniſhment of Cimon, on a falſe accuſation of maintaining a ſuſpicious correſpondence with the Lacedæmonians [c]; and, under frivolous pretexts, deſtroyed the authority of the areopagus, which vigorouſly oppoſed its influence to his innovations and the growing licentiouſneſs of the times [d].

After the death of Cimon, Thucydides, his brother-in-law, laboured to reanimate the tottering party of the principal citizens. He poſſeſſed not the military talents of Pericles; yet, equally ſkilful with him in managing the inclinations and prejudices of the public, he, for ſome time, maintained an equilibrium, but at length was condemned to baniſhment by the oſtraciſm [e].

From this moment Pericles changed his ſyſtem: he had ſubjugated the party of the rich by flattering the multitude; and he now ſubjugated the multitude by reſtraining their caprices, ſometimes by an invincible oppoſition, and at others by the wiſdom of his counſels, or the charms of his eloquence [f]. Every thing was governed by his will, though every thing was apparently tranſacted according to the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms; and liberty, lulled into ſecurity by the obſervance of the republican forms, imperceptibly expired under the tyranny of genius.

In proportion as Pericles augmented his power, he was leſs laviſh of his influence and his preſence. Confining himſelf to a ſmall circle of relations and friends, he was ſuppoſed to be ſolely occupied with plans for the pacification or overthrow of Greece, while, from his retirement, he kept a vigilant eye over the different branches of government. The Athe-

[c] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.
[d] Id. in Per. p. 157.
[e] Plut. in Per. p. 158 et 161.
[f] Id. ibid. p 161.

nians, docile to the impulſe, implicitly obeyed the firſt mover, becauſe they rarely ſaw him court their ſuffrages; and equally extravagant in their expreſſions as their ſentiments, they repreſented Pericles only under the ſemblance of the moſt potent of the gods. Was his voice heard on important occaſions; they exclaimed that Jupiter had intruſted him with his thunder and his lightning [g]: did he, on others, act only by the mediation of his creatures; they reflected that the ſovereign of the ſkies committed to ſubordinate genii the minutiæ of the government of the univerſe.

Pericles extended, by ſplendid victories, the dominions of the republic; but when he ſaw the Athenian power attain to a certain point of elevation, he deemed it diſgraceful to ſuffer it to decline, and a misfortune any farther to augment it. All his operations were governed by this conſideration; and it was the triumph of his politics ſo long to have retained the Athenians in inaction, while he held their allies in dependence, and kept Lacedæmon in awe.

The Athenians, full of the conſciouſneſs of their power, of that conſciouſneſs which in the higher ranks produces haughtineſs and pride, but in the multitude inſolence and ferocity, no longer confined their views to the ſovereignty of Greece, but meditated the conqueſt of Egypt, Carthage, Sicily, and Etruria. Pericles ſuffered theſe vaſt projects to evaporate, and only was the more attentive to the conduct of the allies of Athens [h].

The republic ſucceſſively broke through thoſe ties of equality which had formed the confederation between them and their allies: they impoſed a yoke on them more humiliating than the conditions they had exacted from the barbarians, as it is more eaſy to accuſtom men to ſubmit to violence than to injuſtice. Among other ſubjects of complaint, the allies re-

[g] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 529. Plut. in Per. p. 156. Cic. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 426.

[h] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 402. Plut. in Per. p. 164.

proached the Athenians with applying to the embelliſhment of their city, the ſums annually granted by them all to carry on the war againſt the Perſians. Pericles anſwered, that the fleets of the republic ſecured her allies from the inſults of the barbarians, and that ſhe had no other engagement to fulfil [i]. On this Eubœa, Samos, and Byzantium, revolted; but Eubœa ſoon after returned to her obedience [k], Byzantium brought again the cuſtomary tribute [l], and Samos, after a vigorous reſiſtance, indemnified the Athenians for the expences of the war, delivered up her ſhips, demoliſhed her walls, and gave hoſtages [m].

The Peloponneſian league had now a new proof of the deſpotiſm the Athenians exerciſed over their allies, and to which they would one day ſubject their enemies. Alarmed for a long time paſt at the rapidity of their progreſs, and by no means relying on the ſubſiſting treaties, confirmed by a truce of thirty years [n] *, the confederates would more than once have arreſted the courſe of their victories, had they been able to overcome the extreme repugnance of the Lacedæmonians for every kind of war.

Such was the diſpoſition of mens minds among the Grecian ſtates. Pericles was odious to ſome, and formidable to all. His reign, for ſo his adminiſtration may be called [o], had not been ſhaken by the clamours of envy, and ſtill leſs by the ſatires or ſallies of pleaſantry launched againſt him from the theatre, or in ſociety. But to that ſpecies of vengeance which conſoles the people for their weakneſs, at length ſucceeded confuſed murmurs, mingled with a gloomy inquietude that preſaged an approaching revolution. His enemies, not daring directly to attack him, tried their weapons againſt thoſe who had merited his protection or his friendſhip.

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[i] Plut. in Per. p. 158.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 75.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 117.
[m] Id. ibid. Plut. in Per. p. 167.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 115.
* The year 445 before Chriſt. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 104.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 156.

Phidias, intruſted with the ſuperintendance of the ſuperb monuments which decorate Athens, was accuſed of having embezzled part of the gold he had received to enrich the ſtatue of Minerva: he proved his innocence, but nevertheleſs ended his days in priſon. Anaxagoras, the moſt religious perhaps of the philoſophers, was judicially proſecuted for impiety, and obliged to fly. The ſpouſe, the tender friend of Pericles, the celebrated Aſpaſia, accuſed of having inſulted religion by her converſation, and good morals by her conduct, pleaded her own cauſe; and the tears of her huſband with difficulty ſaved her from the ſeverity of her judges [p].

Theſe attacks were but the prelude of thoſe intended againſt Pericles himſelf, when an unforeſeen event revived his hopes, and more firmly eſtabliſhed his authority.

Corcyra had for ſome years been at war with Corinth [q], from which city ſhe derives her origin. By the general law of Greece, a foreign power is not to intermeddle in the differences between a mother country and her colonies. But it was the intereſt of the Athenians to attach to themſelves a people with a flouriſhing navy, and whoſe ſituation enabled them to favour the paſſage of their fleets into Sicily and Italy. They admitted the Corcyreans into their alliance, and ſent them ſuccours; on which the Corinthians loudly complained that the Athenians had broken the truce.

Potidæa, another colony of the Corinthians, had taken part with the Athenians. The latter, ſuſpecting their fidelity, ordered the Potidæans not only to give them hoſtages, but to demoliſh their walls, and to expel the magiſtrates annually ſent them, conformably to cuſtom, by the mother country. Potidæa upon this joined the Peloponneſian league, and was laid ſiege to by the Athenians [r].

Some time before, the Athenians, under ſome frivolous pretext, had excluded from their ports and markets the inhabi-

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 95. Plut. in Per. p. 169. Philoch. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 604.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 25. &c.

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 56.

tants of Megara, the allies of Lacedæmon [s]. Other cities had been likewiſe deprived of their laws and liberties.

Corinth, wiſhing to excite a general war, eſpouſed their quarrels, and found means to engage them to demand exemplary ſatisfaction through the Lacedæmonians, the chiefs of the Peloponneſian league [t]. The deputies of theſe different cities arrive at Lacedæmon: they are aſſembled, and expoſe their grievances with equal aſperity and vehemence; they relate their paſt ſufferings, their future apprehenſions, and utter all that a juſt vengeance can dictate, or jealouſy and hatred inſpire. When the minds of the aſſembly are prepared to receive ſtill ſtronger impreſſions, one of the Corinthian ambaſſadors takes up the ſubject [u], and reproaches the Lacedæmonians with that good faith, which forbids them to ſuſpect the inſincerity of others; and that moderation imputed to them as a merit, which renders them ſo indifferent to the intereſts of the neighbouring powers. "How often have we appriſed you," ſay they, "of the projects of the Athenians? and how neceſſary is it again to remind you of them? Corcyra, whoſe navy might, on occaſion, ſo powerfully aſſiſt us, has entered into their alliance; Potidæa, the city which ſecured our poſſeſſions in Thrace, is about to fall into their hands. We accuſe none but you as the authors of our loſſes; you, who, after the Median war, permitted our enemies to fortify their city, and extend their conqueſts; you, who are the protectors of liberty, yet by your ſilence favour ſlavery; you, who deliberate when it is time to act, and who never think of your defence till the enemy falls on you with all his forces. It is ſtill freſh in our memories, that the Medes iſſuing from the depths of Aſia had over-run all Greece, and penetrated even into Peloponneſus, whilſt you remained inactive in your houſes. It is not againſt a diſtant nation you will have to fight, but againſt a people at your doors; againſt

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 67. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.

[t] Id. ibid.

[u] Id. ibid cap. 68.

thoſe Athenians whoſe reſources and character you have never known, and with which you ſtill are unacquainted: a people ardent in forming projects; ſkilful in varying them according to circumſtances; ſo prompt in their execution, that to deſire and to poſſeſs with them are the ſame thing; ſo preſumptuous as to imagine themſelves robbed of thoſe conqueſts they have not been able to effect; and ſo graſping as never to limit themſelves to thoſe they have obtained: a bold and turbulent nation, whoſe courage augments with their danger, as their hope increaſes with misfortune; who regard indolence as a torment, and whom the gods in their anger have caſt upon the earth, never to know repoſe, nor ever to ſuffer it to be enjoyed by others.

"What have you to oppoſe to ſo many advantages? Projects beneath your powers, diffidence in the wiſeſt reſolutions, tardineſs in your operations, diſcouragement at the ſlighteſt check, dread of extending your domains, negligence in preſerving them; every thing, even your very principles, is as injurious to the repoſe of Greece as to your own ſafety. Not to attack any one; to be always prepared againſt an attack; theſe means do not always appear to you ſufficient to ſecure the happineſs of a people. You wiſh never to repel inſult, but when ſome real prejudice reſults from it to the country: a fatal maxim, which, if adopted by the neighbouring nations, would ſcarcely ſecure you from their invaſions.

"O Lacedæmonians! your conduct is too ſtrongly tinctured with the ſimplicity of the firſt ages. Other times demand other manners, and another ſyſtem. Immobility of principles can ſuit only a ſtate certain of enjoying an eternal peace; but when, by her connections with other nations, the intereſts of a city become more complicated, ſhe muſt recur to a more refined policy. Abjure then, after the example of the Athenians, that uprightneſs which cannot accommodate itſelf to events; lay aſide that indolence which keeps you ſhut up within the precincts of your walls, make an irruption into

Attica, and force not your allies, your faithful friends, to throw themſelves into the arms of your enemies. Then, placed at the head of the nations of Peloponneſus, you will ſhow yourſelves worthy of the empire our anceſtors beſtowed on your virtues."

Some Athenian deputies, brought by other affairs to Lacedæmon, deſired to ſpeak; not to reply to the accuſations they had heard, the Lacedæmonians were not their judges; they wiſhed only to induce the aſſembly to ſuſpend a deciſion which might be followed by the moſt fatal conſequences [x].

They reminded the Lacedæmonians with much complacency of the battles of Marathon and Salamis. Theſe the Athenians had gained: they had expelled the barbarians, and ſaved Greece. A people capable of ſuch great achievements doubtleſs merited ſome attention. "Envy," ſaid they, "now imputes to them as a crime the authority they exerciſe over part of the Grecian ſtates; but it is Lacedæmon who has transferred to them that right: they preſerve it, becauſe it could not be abandoned without danger: they exert it, however, with mildneſs, and not with ſeverity; and if they are ſometimes obliged to employ rigour, it is from the impoſſibility of retaining the weak in ſubjection by other means than force. Let Lacedæmon ceaſe to liſten to the unjuſt complaints of the allies of Athens, and the jealous anger of her own: let her, before ſhe takes a part in the diſpute, reflect on the importance of the intereſts about to be diſcuſſed, and on the uncertainty of the events which may follow a deciſion. Away with that intoxication that allows nations only to liſten to the voice of reaſon, when they have ſunk into the depths of miſery; which makes every war terminate but where it ſhould have begun. There is yet time, and we may bring our differences to an amicable concluſion, by the mode preſcribed to us by treaties: but if, in contempt of oaths, you

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 72.

break the truce, we will take the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witneſs, and prepare for the moſt vigorous defence."

Having ended this harangue, the ambaſſadors quitted the aſſembly; and king Archidamus, who united long experience to profound wiſdom, perceiving, from the agitation of mens minds, that war was inevitable, was deſirous at leaſt to retard the deciſive moment.

"People of Lacedæmon," ſaid he [y], "I have been witneſs of many wars, as have alſo ſeveral amongſt you, and am for that very reaſon but the more diſpoſed to fear for the event of that you are about to undertake. Without preparations, and without reſources, you are going to attack a nation expert in naval affairs, formidable from the number of its ſoldiers and its ſhips, and rich from the productions of its country and the tributes of its allies. What is to inſpire you with this confidence? Is it your fleet? What a length of time will it require to reſtore it? Is it the ſtate of your finances? We have no public treaſury [z], and individuals are poor. Is it the hope of detaching from Athens her allies [a]? but as the greater part of them are iſlanders, you muſt be maſters of the ſea, to excite and maintain their defection. Is it the project of ravaging the plains of Attica, and of terminating this mighty quarrel in one campaign? Alas! do you imagine that the loſs of a ſingle harveſt in a country with a flouriſhing commerce, will engage the Athenians to ſue to you for peace? Ah! how much more do I dread that we ſhall be compelled to leave this war as a wretched inheritance to our children! The hoſtilities of cities and individuals are tranſient; but when war is once enkindled between two powerful ſtates, it is as difficult to foreſee the conſequences, as to extricate ourſelves with honour.

"I am not of opinion that we ſhould abandon our allies to oppreſſion; I only ſay, that, previous to taking arms, we

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 79.
[z] Plut. Apophth. Lac. t. ii. p. 217.
[a] Thucyd. ibid.

ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the Athenians, and open a negotiation. They have juſt propoſed to us this mode; and it were injuſtice to refuſe it. In the interval, we ſhall addreſs ourſelves to the nations of Greece, and, ſince neceſſity requires it, to the barbarians themſelves, in order to obtain ſuccours in money and ſhips. If the Athenians reject our complaints, we will repeat them after two or three years preparations, when we ſhall perhaps find them more tractable.

"The tardineſs imputed to us has always conſtituted our ſecurity; never have praiſes or reproaches excited us to raſh enterpriſes. We are not ſkilled enough to depreciate, by eloquent harangues, the power of our enemies; but we know, that, to enable us to conquer, we muſt eſteem them, judge of their conduct by our own, guard ourſelves againſt their prudence, as well as againſt their valour, and reckon leſs upon their errors than on the wiſdom of our own precautions. We are of opinion, that one man does not differ from another; but that the moſt formidable is he, who, on critical occaſions, conducts himſelf with the moſt prudence and wiſdom.

"Let us not deviate from the maxims we have received from our fathers, and which have preſerved this ſtate. Deliberate at leiſure; let not a ſingle moment decide on your properties, your glory, the blood of ſo many citizens, and the deſtiny of ſo many nations; let war be prepared for, but declare it not; make your preparations as if you expected nothing from your negotiations; and reflect that theſe meaſures are the moſt uſeful to your country, and the beſt adapted to intimidate the Athenians."

The harangue of Archidamus would perhaps have prevented the Lacedæmonians from immediately reſolving on war, had not Sthenelaidas, one of the ephori, to divert its effect, immediately exclaimed [b]:

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[b] Id. lib. 1. cap. 86.

"I can nnderſtand nothing of the verboſe eloquence of the Athenians: their own eulogium is their inexhauſtible theme, but they never utter a ſingle word which makes for their defence. The more irreproachable their conduct in the Median war, the more diſgraceful is it at this day; and I declare them doubly culpable, ſince they were virtuous, and have ceaſed to be ſo. As for us, ever the ſame, we will not betray our allies, but defend them with the ſame ardour with which they are attacked. The queſtion, however, is not now reſpecting ſpeeches and diſcuſſions; it is not by words that our allies have been injured. The moſt ſpeedy vengeance alone can now befit the dignity of Sparta; and let it not be ſaid that we ſhould deliberate after receiving an inſult; our enemies ſhould have deliberated before they inſulted us. Give your voices then for war, O Lacedæmonians! and at length preſcribe ſome limits to the injuſtice and ambition of the Athenians. Let us march, ſecure of the protection of the gods, againſt theſe invaders of liberty."

He ſpoke, and inſtantly called on the people to give their ſuffrages. Many of the aſſembly ſupported the opinion of the king; but the greater number voted that the Athenians had broken the truce, and it was determined to convoke a general council of their allies, to proceed to a final reſolution.

All the deputies being arrived, the queſtion was again diſcuſſed, and war determined on by the plurality of voices [c]. As no preparations, however, were yet made, the Lacedæmonians were deſired to ſend deputies to the Athenians, and to lay before them the complaints of the confederated ſtates of Peloponneſus.

The object of the firſt embaſſy was only to obtain the baniſhment of Pericles, or to render him odious to the multitude [d]. The ambaſſadors made a pretext of motives foreign

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 125.

[d] Id. ibid. cap. 126.

from the differences in queſtion, and which made no impreſſion on the Athenians.

New deputies offered to continue the truce; they propoſed ſome conditions, and finally limited their demands to the revocation of that decree which interdicted the commerce of Attica to the inhabitants of Megara [e]. Pericles replied, that the laws did not allow them to remove the tablet on which this decree was inſcribed. "If you cannot remove it," ſaid one of the ambaſſadors, "only turn it; your laws do not forbid that [f]."

In fine, in a third embaſſy, the deputies contented themſelves with ſaying: "The Lacedæmonians deſire peace, and make it depend only on one point. Permit the Grecian cities to govern themſelves according to their laws [g]."

This propoſition was diſcuſſed, as well as the preceding ones, in the aſſembly of the people. Opinions being divided, Pericles loſt no time in mounting the roſtrum. He repreſented, that, conformably to treaties, the differences ariſing between the contracting cities ought to be diſcuſſed by pacific methods, and that, in the interim, each ſhould enjoy what it poſſeſſed. "In contempt of this formal deciſion," ſaid Pericles, "the Lacedæmonians imperiouſly ſignify to us their will, and, leaving us no alternative but war or ſubmiſſion, command us to renounce the advantages we have gained over their allies. Do they not publicly declare that peace depends ſolely on the decree paſſed againſt Megara? and do not ſeveral among you cry out, that ſo trifling a ſubject ſhould not induce us to take up arms? Athenians, ſuch offers are but a palpable ſnare; we muſt reject them, till they treat with us on a footing of equality. Every nation that pretends to dictate laws to a rival nation, holds out chains to it. Should you give way on a ſingle point, they will imagine they have

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[e] Id. ibid. cap. 139.
[f] Plut. in Per. p. 168.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 139.

made you fear them, and from that hour will impoſe on you ſtill more humiliating conditions [h].

"And what have you at preſent to apprehend from that crowd of nations, who differ as much in their character as in their origin? What prolixity in the convocation of their aſſemblies! What confuſion in the diſcuſſion of their intereſts! They employ one moment in conſulting for the general welfare, but appropriate the remainder of their time to their particular advantages. Theſe think only of their vengeance; thoſe of nothing but their ſafety; and almoſt all of them, relying on each other for their preſervation, ruſh, without perceiving it, on their common ruin [i]."

Pericles next ſhowed, that the Peloponneſian allies, not being in a condition to make many campaigns, the beſt method to enſure ſucceſs would be to weary them out, and oppoſe a war by ſea to their attacks by land. "They will make inroads," continued he, "into Attica; but our fleets will ravage their coaſts, and they will be unable to repair their loſſes, whilſt we ſhall have lands enough to cultivate, either in the iſlands or on the continent. The empire of the ſea gives ſuch a ſuperiority, that were you in an iſland, no power would venture to attack you. No longer conſider Athens as any other than a fortreſs, ſeparated as it were from the land; line the walls that defend it, and fill the ſhips that are in its harbours with ſoldiers. Let the adjacent country be conſidered as foreign to you, and become the prey of the enemy before your eyes. Do not yield to the ſenſeleſs raſhneſs of oppoſing your valour to the ſuperiority of numbers. A victory would ſoon draw upon you greater armies; a defeat excite thoſe allies we retain in their duty only by force to a revolt. It is not for the deſtruction of your eſtates that you ſhould weep, but for the loſs of ſoldiers you muſt incur in a battle. Oh! did I but poſſeſs the powers of per-

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 140.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 141.

ſuaſion, I would propoſe to you this very inſtant to carry fire and ſword through our fields, and the buildings with which they are covered; that the Lacedæmonians might learn no longer to regard them as pledges of our ſervitude [k].

"I ſhould have other promiſes of certain victory to offer you, were I aſſured that, from the apprehenſion of adding new dangers to thoſe of war, you would not ſtrive to combat with the view of conqueſt; for I am more fearful of your errors than of the projects of the enemy. But we muſt now anſwer the deputies; firſt, that the Megareans ſhall be allowed ſtill to trade with Attica, if the Lacedæmonians will no longer forbid us and our allies to enter their city; ſecondly, that the Athenians will reſtore to the ſtates they have ſubjected the liberty they formerly enjoyed, if the Lacedæmonians will do the ſame by the cities which depend on them; thirdly, that the league of Athens offers that of Peloponneſus amicably to terminate the differences which at preſent ſubſiſt between them [l]."

After this anſwer, the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors withdrew, and both ſides employed themſelves in preparations for the longeſt and moſt fatal war that ever deſolated Greece *. It laſted ſeven and twenty years [m]; and originated in the ambition of the Athenians, and the juſt fears with which they inſpired the Lacedæmonians and their allies. The enemies of Pericles accuſed him of having promoted it; and it ſeems undeniable that it was uſeful to the reſtoration of his authority.

The Lacedæmonians had for their allies the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, the people of Megaris, Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium, and all Peloponneſus, except the Argives, who obſerved a neutrality [n].

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[k] Id. ibid. cap. 143.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 144.
* In the ſpring of the year 431 before Chriſt.
[m] Id. lib. 5. cap. 26.
[n] Id. lib. 2. cap. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 99.

On the ſide of the Athenians were the Grecian cities ſituated on the coaſts of Aſia, thoſe of Thrace and the Helleſpont, almoſt the whole of Acarnania, ſome other ſmaller cities, and all the iſlands, except thoſe of Melos and of Thera. Beſides theſe ſuccours, they were themſelves able to furniſh the league with thirteen thouſand ſoldiers heavily armed, twelve hundred cavalry, ſixteen hundred archers on foot, and three hundred galleys. Sixteen thouſand men, choſen from among the citizens too old or too young for the ſervice of the field, and the ſtrangers ſettled in Athens, were employed to defend the walls of the city, and the fortreſſes of Attica [o].

Six thouſand talents * were depoſited in the citadel. In caſe of need, upwards of five hundred more † could be procured by melting the ſacred veſſels, and other reſources which Pericles indicated to the people.

Such were the forces of the Athenians, when Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, after halting at the iſthmus of Corinth, and receiving from each confederated city of Peloponneſus two thirds of the inhabitants able to bear arms [p], advanced ſlowly towards Attica, at the head of ſixty thouſand men [q]. He attempted to renew the negotiation, and with that view ſent an ambaſſador to the Athenians, who refuſed to receive him, and commanded him inſtantly to quit the territories of the republic [r]. Archidamus now continuing his march, ſpread his army, in the time of harveſt, over the plains of Attica. The wretched inhabitants had retired at his approach [s], and tranſported their effects to Athens, where the greateſt part of them found no other aſylum but the temples, the tombs, the towers of the ramparts, the obſcureſt of hovels, and the moſt deſolate places. To their regret at having left their ancient and peaceful habitations was added the afflicting circumſtance of beholding at a diſtance

[o] Id. ibid. cap. 13. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 97.

* 32,400,000 livres (or 1,350,000 l. ſterling).

† 2,700,000 livres (or 112,500 l. ſterling).

[p] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 10.

[q] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170.

[r] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 12.

[s] Id ibid. cap. 14.

their houſes conſumed by the flames, and the fruits of their fields abandoned to the ſword of the enemy [t].

The Athenians, conſtrained to endure inſults, aggravated by the recollection of ſo many glorious exploits, vented their rage and indignation in the moſt furious exclamations againſt Pericles, who held their valour enchained [u]. But that ſtateſman anſwering only by his ſilence to either their prayers or menaces, diſpatched a fleet of an hundred ſail for Peloponneſus [x], and repreſſed the public clamour ſolely by the energy and dignity of his character.

Archidamus, no longer finding ſubſiſtence in Attica, led back his army, laden with plunder, into Peloponneſus. The Lacedæmonians and their allies returned home, and did not again make their appearance for the remainder of the year. After their retreat, Pericles ſent a ſquadron againſt the Locrians, which gained ſome advantages [y]. The grand fleet, after ſpreading deſolation along the coaſts of Peloponneſus, took, in its return, the iſland of Ægina [z]; and ſoon after, the Athenians marched in a body againſt the inhabitants of Megara, and ravaged their country [a]. The following winter they honoured by public funerals thoſe who had fallen in battle; and Pericles eternized their renown in an eloquent harangue. The Corinthians fitted out forty galleys, made a deſcent in Acarnania, and retreated with loſs [b]. Thus terminated the firſt campaign.

Thoſe which ſucceeded, in like manner preſent only a ſucceſſion of partial actions, haſty excurſions, and enterpriſes that ſeem foreign to the object propoſed on either ſide. Whence happened it that nations ſo warlike, and ſuch near neighbours, animated by an ancient jealouſy, and recent animoſities, ſhould attempt nothing but to ſurpriſe and avoid

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[t] Id. ibid. cap. 17 et 21.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 22.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 23. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 26.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 27.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 31.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 33 et 34.

each other, to divide their forces, and, by a multitude of deſultory diverſions, without ſplendour or danger, to multiply and prolong the miſeries of war? The cauſe certainly could only be the impoſſibility of conducting this war in the manner of any other.

The Peloponneſian league was ſo ſuperior in land forces, that the Athenians could not riſk a general action without expoſing themſelves to certain ruin. The ſtates which formed that league were ignorant of the art of attacking towns: they had recently failed before a little fortreſs of Attica [c], nor did they afterwards gain poſſeſſion of the city of Platæa in Bœotia, defended by a feeble garriſon, till after a blockade of near two years, which compelled the inhabitants to ſurrender for want of proviſions [d]. How, therefore, could they flatter themſelves that they ſhould be able to take by aſſault, or reduce by famine, ſuch a city as Athens, which could be defended by thirty thouſand men, and which, being miſtreſs of the ſea, might be eaſily ſupplied with the neceſſary ſubſiſtence?

Accordingly, all the enemy could effect was to deſtroy the harveſts of Attica, which they regularly practiſed in the firſt years of the war; but theſe inroads were neceſſarily but tranſient, ſince the invaders, being extremely poor, and wanted at home for their ruſtic labours, could not long remain in arms, and in a diſtant country [e]. They at length reſolved to augment the number of their ſhips; but many years were requiſite to acquire the knowledge of managing them, and to attain that experience which the practice of fifty years had procured the Athenians [f]. The ſkill of the latter was ſo decidely ſuperior at the commencement of the war, that their ſmalleſt ſquadrons did not heſitate to attack the largeſt fleets of the Peloponneſians [g].

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[c] Id. ibid. cap. 19.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 78; lib. 3. cap. 20. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 102 et 109.
[e] Id. lib. 1. cap. 141.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 142.
[g] Id. lib. 2. cap. 88.

In the ſeventh year of the war *, the Lacedæmonians, to ſave four hundred and twenty of their ſoldiers [h], beſieged by the Athenians in an iſland, demanded peace, and delivered up about ſixty galleys, which were to be reſtored to them in caſe the priſoners were not ſet at liberty. They never were given up; and the Athenians detaining the veſſels [i], the Peloponneſian navy was deſtroyed. Its reſtoration was retarded by various incidents until the twentieth year of the war, when the king of Perſia engaged by promiſes and treaties to provide for its maintenance [k]. The Lacedæmonian league now covered the ſea with their ſhips [l]; the two ſtates attacked each other more directly, till, after alternate ſucceſſes and reverſes of fortune, the power of Athens yielded to that of the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

Nor were the Athenians, on their ſide, better able to give law to Greece by the number of their ſhips, than their enemies by their numerous land forces. When the former appeared with their fleets in places where the Peloponneſians had poſſeſſions, their utmoſt attempts were confined to laying waſte a part of the coaſt, making themſelves maſters of a defenceleſs town, and laying contributions without venturing to penetrate into the country. Was it neceſſary to lay ſiege to ſome ſtrong hold in a diſtant country, though they poſſeſſed more reſources than the Lacedæmonians, the tedioufneſs of the operations exhauſted their finances, and the inconſiderable number of troops they were able to employ. The taking of Potidæa coſt them a great number of ſoldiers, the labour of two years and a half, and two thouſand talents †[m].

Thus, from the extreme diverſity of forces, and their exceſſive diſproportion, the war muſt inevitably be ſpun out to

* Towards the year 424 before C.
[h] Id. lib. 4. cap. 8.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 16 et 23.
[k] Id. lib. 8. cap. 5, 18. 36. 45. &c.
[l] Id. ibid. cap 3.

† 10,800,000 livres, (or 450,000 l. ſterling).
[m] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 64; lib. 2. cap. 70. Dodwell, in Thucyd. p. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 102.

a great length: and this Archidamus and Pericles [n], the two ableſt politicians of Greece, had foreſeen; with this difference, that the former imagined that delay was what the Lacedæmonians had moſt to fear, and the latter, that it was a deſirable circumſtance for the Athenians.

It was by no means difficult likewiſe to foreſee that the conflagration would break out, be extinguiſhed, and rage anew at intervals amongſt all the different ſtates. As the neighbouring cities were divided by ſeparate intereſts, and ſome detached themſelves, on the ſlighteſt pretext, from the confederation, whilſt others remained a prey to factions perpetually fomented by Athens and Lacedæmon, it could not but unavoidably happen that war was waged between ſtate and ſtate in the ſame province, between city and city in the ſame ſtate, and between party and party in the ſame city.

Thucydides, Xenophon, and other celebrated authors, have depicted the miſeries reſulting from theſe long and fatal diſſenſions. Without following them through minute details only intereſting to the people of Greece, I ſhall relate a few of the events which more particularly reſpect the Athenians.

At the commencement of the ſecond year, the enemy returned into Attica, and the plague broke out in Athens [o]. Never did this dreadful ſcourge ravage ſo many climates. Proceeding from Æthiopia, it had viſited Egypt, Libya, part of Perſia, the iſle of Lemnos, and other places. A merchantſhip had no doubt brought it into the Piræus, where it made its firſt appearance, and whence it ſpread with fury over the city, and raged more particularly in thoſe obſcure and unwholeſome dwellings in which the inhabitants of the country were crowded together.

The malady ſucceſſively attacked all parts of the body [p]: its ſymptoms were dreadful, its progreſs rapid, and the con-

[n] Id. ibid. cap. 81 et 141.
[o] Id. lib. 2. cap. 47.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 49. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171. Diod. Sic. p. 101. Lucr. lib. 6.

ſequences almoſt always mortal. From the firſt appearance of infection the mind loſt its powers, the body ſeemed to acquire new ſtrength, and it was a cruel ſuffering to reſiſt the diſorder without being able to ſupport the pain. Sleepleſs nights, terrors, inceſſant hiccups, and terrifying convulſions, were not the only torments endured by the ſick. A burning heat devoured their entrails. The wretched ſufferers, covered with ulcers and livid ſpots, their eyes inflamed, their lungs oppreſſed, their bowels torn with agony, and exhaling a fetid odour from their mouths, polluted with an impure blood, were ſeen dragging the miſerable remains of themſelves through the ſtreets to ſeek a freer reſpiration, and, unable to extinguiſh the burning thirſt which conſumed their vitals, precipitating themſelves into wells, or rivers covered with flakes of ice.

The greateſt part periſhed on the ſeventh or ninth day; or if their lives were prolonged beyond that term, they only ſuffered a more painful and more lingering death.

Such as did not ſink under the malady were ſcarcely ever attacked a ſecond time [q]. A feeble conſolation! for they now preſented to the eye only the wretched relics of themſelves. Some had loſt the uſe of ſeveral of their limbs; others retained no idea of the paſt: happy doubtleſs in the unconſciouſneſs of their condition; but they were unable to recognize their friends [r]!

The ſame mode of treatment alternately produced ſalutary and injurious effects: the diſorder ſeemed to ſet all rules and experience at defiance. As it likewiſe raged in many of the Perſian provinces, king Artaxerxes reſolved to invite to their aſſiſtance the celebrated Hippocrates, then in the iſle of Cos [s]: he made him the moſt ſplendid offers of wealth and honours; but the great man replied to the great king, that he had neither wants nor deſires, and that he owed his ſkill

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 51.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 49.
[s] Suid. in Hippocr.

to Greece rather than to her enemies [t]. He then came to offer his ſervices to the Athenians, who received him with the more gratitude, as the greater part of their phyſicians had fallen victims to their zeal. He exhauſted all the reſources of his art, and often expoſed his life. If he obtained not all the ſucceſs due to ſuch noble and generous conduct, and ſuch ſuperior talents, he at leaſt diſtributed hope and conſolation. It is ſaid that, to purify the air, he cauſed great fires to be kindled in the ſtreets of Athens [u]; others aſſert that this method was employed not unſucceſsfully by a phyſician of Agrigentum, named Acron [x].

At the beginning of this dreadful calamity, ſublime examples of filial piety and generous friendſhip were diſplayed; but as the conſequences were almoſt always fatal to the children and the friends, they were but rarely repeated afterwards. Then the moſt reſpectable ties were broken; the eyes about to cloſe for ever, beheld on all ſides only the moſt profound ſolitude [y], and death no longer produced a tear.

This callous inſenſibility gave birth to an unbridled licentiouſneſs. The death of ſo many worthy men, mingled without diſtinction in the ſame tomb with villians; the deſtruction of ſo many fortunes, become ſuddenly the inheritance or prey of the loweſt citizens, made a lively impreſſion on thoſe who have no other principle but fear. Perſuaded that the gods no longer protected or regarded virtue, and that the vengeance of the laws could not be ſo prompt as the death impending over them, they imagined that the inſtability of human poſſeſſions pointed out the uſe that they ſhould make of them, and that having but a few moments to live, they were juſtified at leaſt in paſſing them in the midſt of pleaſures [z].

At the end of two years, the plague ſeemed to be appeaſed, During this interval of ceſſation, it was more than once diſcovered that the ſeeds of the contagion were not eradicated;

[t] Plut. in Cat. t. i. p. 350. Galen. Quod Opt. Med. t. i.
[u] Ap. Hippocr. t. ii. p. 970.
[x] Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. t. ii. p. 383.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 51.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 53.

it broke out again eighteen months after, and during the courſe of a whole year renewed the ſame ſcenes of diſtreſs and horror [a]. At both theſe times, a great number of citizens periſhed, among whom are to be reckoned near five thouſand men able to bear arms. The moſt irreparable loſs was that of Pericles, who died of the conſequences of this diſtemper [b] in the third year of the war *. Some time before, the Athenians, exaſperated by the extremity of their ſufferings, had deprived him of his authority, and condemned him to a fine: they had recently acknowledged their injuſtice, and Pericles had granted them his forgiveneſs [c], though he reſumed his authority with diſguſt, from the ficklenefs of the people, and the loſs of his family and the greater part of his friends, who had been carried off by the plague.

When he was about to yield his laſt breath, and no longer ſhowed any ſigns of life, the leading men of Athens, aſſembled around his bed, were ſoothing their affliction by recounting his victories and the number of his trophies: "Theſe actions," ſaid he to them, raiſing himſelf up with difficulty, "are the work of fortune, and common to myſelf with other generals. The only eulogium I merit, is, that I have never been the cauſe that any citizen ſhould wear mourning [d]."

If, conformably to the plan of Pericles, the Athenians had continued an offenſive war by ſea, and a defenſive one by land [e]; if, renouncing every idea of conqueſt, they had not riſked the ſafety of the ſtate by raſh enterpriſes, they ſooner or later muſt have triumphed over their enemies, as they on the whole did them more injury than they could receive from them, and as the league they headed was almoſt entirely under their command, whilſt that of the Peloponneſus, com-

[a] Id. lib. 3. cap. 87.
[b] Id. lib. 2. cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 173.
* The year 429 before Chriſt, towards the autumn.
[c] Plut. ibid. p. 172.
[d] Plut. in Per. p. 173.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 65.

poſed of independent nations, might every inſtant be diſſolved. But Pericles died, and was ſucceeded in his authority by Cleon.

This man was of no family, nor poſſeſſed of any real talents, but vain, daring, and violent [f], and on that account acceptable to the multitude. He had attached them to him by his largeſſes; he retained them by inſpiring them with a high idea of the power of Athens, and a ſovereign contempt for that of Lacedæmon [g]. He it was who, one day aſſembling his friends, declared to them that, being on the point of adminiſtering the public affairs, he renounced all connections that might poſſibly induce him to commit injuſtice [h]. He was, notwithſtanding, the moſt greedy and moſt unjuſt of men.

The honeſt part of the citizens oppoſed to him Nicias, one of the moſt conſiderable and wealthieſt individuals of Athens, who had commanded armies and obtained ſeveral advantages. He had gained the favour of the multitude by feſtivals and acts of liberality [i]: but as he was diffident of himſelf and of fortune [k], and his ſucceſſes had only ſerved to render him more timid, he obtained reſpect, but never a ſuperiority of influence in the public aſſemblies. Reaſon ſpoke coldly from his mouth, whilſt the people required ſtrong emotions, and Cleon excited them by his declamations, his noiſe, and furious geſtures [l]. The latter ſucceeding by accident in an enterpriſe that Nicias had refuſed to undertake, the Athenians, who had ridiculed their own choice, from that moment abandoned themſelves with more confidence to his counſels. They rejected propoſals of peace which had been made by the enemy [m], and placed him at the head of the forces they were ſending into Thrace to check the progreſs of Braſidas, the ableſt general of Lacedæmon. He there drew upon himſelf

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f Id. lib. 3. cap. 36.
g Id. lib. 4. cap. 28.
h Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806.
i Plut. in Nic. p. 524.
k Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 16.
l Plut. in Nic. p. 528.
m Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 647 et 664.

the contempt of both armies, and, approaching the enemy without caution, ſuffered his army to be ſurpriſed, was one of the firſt to fly, and loſt his life [n].

After his death, Nicias no longer finding any obſtacle to peace, entered into negotiations, which were ſoon followed by an offenſive and defenſive alliance *, by which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were to be firmly united for fifty years [o]. The conditions of the treaty reſtored every thing to the ſame ſituation in which it had been previous to the commencement of the war. Ten years, however, had elapſed ſince that period, and both ſtates had been enfeebled to no purpoſe.

At length they flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to taſte the ſweets of tranquillity; but their alliance gave birth to new leagues and new diſſenſions. Several of the allies of Lacedæmon complained of not being comprehended in the treaty; and, uniting with the Argives, who had hitherto remained neuter, declared againſt the Lacedæmonians. On the other hand, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians reciprocally charged each other with not fulfilling the articles of the treaty: hence aroſe miſunderſtandings and hoſtilities. But it was not until the expiration of ſix years and ten months † that they proceeded to an open rupture [p]; a rupture founded on the moſt frivolous pretext, and which might eaſily have been prevented, had not war been neceſſary to the ambitious projects of Alcibiades.

Some hiſtorians have ſtigmatized the memory of this Athenian with every reproach, and others honoured it with every elogium, without its being poſſible for us to charge the former with injuſtice or the latter with partiality [q]. It ſeems as if nature had exerted herſelf to unite in him the moſt ſtriking extremes ſhe can produce either of vice or virtue [r].

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[n] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 10.
* The year 421 before Chriſt.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 17. 18. &c.
† The year 414 before Chriſt.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 25.
[q] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11.
[r] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1.

We ſhall here conſider him as connected with the ſtate, the ruin of which he accelerated; and afterwards as related to the ſociety of which he completed the corruption.

An illuſtrious birth, conſiderable riches, a moſt diſtinguiſhed figure, graces the moſt ſeductive, a diſcerning and comprehenſive mind, the honour, in fine, of a connection with Pericles; ſuch were the advantages that firſt dazzled the Athenians, and with which none were ſo ſoon dazzled as himſelf [s].

At an age when we ſtand in need only of advice and indulgence, he had a train of flatterers; he aſtoniſhed his maſters by his docility, and his fellow citizens by the licentiouſneſs of his conduct. Socrates, who early foreſaw that this young man would prove the moſt dangerous, if he did not become the moſt uſeful of the citizens of Athens, ſtudiouſly ſought his friendſhip, obtained it by aſſiduous attention, and never loſt it [t]: he undertook to moderate that vanity which could neither bear a ſuperior or an equal; and ſuch was the aſcendency of reaſon, or of virtue, on theſe occaſions, that the diſciple wept over his errors, and ſuffered himſelf to be humiliated without a murmur [u].

When he entered the path of popular honours, he wiſhed to owe his ſucceſs leſs to the ſplendour of his magnificence and liberalities, than to the charms of his eloquence [x]. He made his appearance in the roſtrum. A ſlight defect of pronunciation gave to his ſpeech all the ſimple and native graces of early youth [y]; and though he ſometimes heſitated to find the proper word, he was regarded as one of the greateſt orators of Athens [z]. He had already given proofs of his valour; and from his firſt campaigns, all preſaged that he would one day become the ableſt general in Greece. I

[s] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 104. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 130. Plut. in Alcib. &c.

[t] Id. ibid. t. ii. p. 103. Id. in Conv. t. iii. p. 215, &c.

[u] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193 et 194.

[x] Id. ibid. p. 195.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 192. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 44.

[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 626. Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 130.

ſhall ſay nothing of his mildneſs, his affability, nor of innumerable other qualities which concurred to render him the moſt amiable of men.

That elevation of ſentiment produced by virtue was not to be ſought in his heart; but in it was found that intrepidity [a] which is inſpired by the conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority. No obſtacle, no danger, could either ſurpriſe or diſcourage him; he ſeemed perſuaded, that when ſouls of a certain order do not perform all they wiſh, it is becauſe they have not courage to attempt all they can. Compelled by circumſtances to ſerve the enemies of his country, it was as eaſy for him to acquire their confidence by the aſcendancy he had over them, as to govern them by the wiſdom of his counſels: he poſſeſſed this pre-eminence peculiar to himſelf, that he uniformly procured a triumph for the party that he favoured, and that his numerous great actions were never tarniſhed by a ſingle reverſe of fortune [b].

In negotiations, he ſometimes employed the light of his underſtanding, which was as vigorous as profound; ſometimes he had recourſe to ſtratagems and perfidy, which no reaſons of ſtate can ever juſtify [c]; on other occaſions he availed himſelf of the pliability of a character which the thirſt of power or the deſire of pleaſing accommodated, without difficulty, to every conjuncture and change of ſituation. In every nation, he commanded reſpect, and ſwayed the public opinion. The Spartans admired his frugality; the Thracians his intemperance; the Bœotians his love of the moſt violent exerciſes; the Ionians his taſte for indolence and voluptuouſneſs; the ſatraps of Aſia a luxury they could not equal [d]. He would have ſhown himſelf the moſt virtuous of men, had he never known the example of vice; but vice hurried him on without making him its ſlave. It ſhould ſeem as if the

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 191.
[b] Plut. in Coriol. p. 233. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 45; lib. 8 cap. 82. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.
[d] Plut. ibid. p. 203. Nep. ibid. cap 11.

profanation of laws and the corruption of manners were conſidered by him only as ſo many victories gained over manners and the laws; it might be ſaid too, that his faults were no more than the errors of his vanity. Thoſe exceſſes of levity, frivolity, and imprudence which eſcaped his youth or idle hours, were no longer ſeen on occaſions that demanded firmneſs and reflection. He then united prudence with activity [e]; and pleaſure never ſtole from him any of thoſe moments which were neceſſary to the advancement of his glory, or the promotion of his intereſt.

His vaniy could not but ſooner or later have degenerated into ambition; for it was impoſſible but that a man ſo ſuperior to others, and ſo inflamed with the deſire of ruling, ſhould have concluded by exacting obedience, after exhauſting admiration. Accordingly, he was all his life jealouſly watched by the leading citizens, ſome of whom dreaded his talents, others his exceſſes [f], and alternately adored, feared, and hated by the people, to whom he had rendered himſelf neceſſary [g]; and as the ſentiments of which he was the object, were converted into violent paſſions, it was with paroxyſms of joy or fury [h] that the Athenians raiſed him to honours, condemned him to death, baniſhed, recalled, and a ſecond time proſcribed him.

One day, when, from the height of the roſtrum, he had gained the ſuffrages of the people, and was returning home, eſcorted by the whole aſſembly, he was met by Timon, uſually called the miſanthropiſt, who, ſhaking him by the hand, ſaid, "Courage, my boy; continue to advance thyſelf to power and honour, and I ſhall be indebted to thee for the ruin of Athens [i]."

In another moment of intoxication, the lower order of the people propoſed to reſtore the kingly power in his favour [k];

[e] Plut. in Alcib. p. 211. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1.
[f] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 15. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1472.
[h] Juſtin. lib. 5. cap. 4.
[i] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 210.

but as he would not have been contented with being only a king, the petty ſovereignty of Athens was not ſufficient for his ambition; that could only be ſatisfied by a vaſt empire, which would enable him to conquer others.

Born in a republic, he wiſhed to raiſe her above herſelf, before he attempted to lay her at his feet. This undoubtedly was the ſecret of thoſe ſplendid enterpriſes into which he hurried the Athenians. With their ſoldiers he would have ſubjected nations, and the Athenians would have found themſelves imperceptibly enſlaved.

His firſt diſgrace, by checking him almoſt at the outſet of his career, only ſhows us this truth, that his genius and projects were too vaſt for the happineſs of his country. It has been ſaid that Greece could not bear two Alcibiadeſes [l]; it ſhould be added, that Athens had one too many. He it was who determined her to undertake the Sicilian war.

The Athenians had for ſome time meditated the conqueſt of that rich and powerful iſland. Their ambition, repreſſed by Pericles, was ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by Alcibiades. Flattering dreams traced out every night to his imagination the immortal glory which was about to crown him. Sicily was only to be the theatre of his firſt exploits; in fancy he had already made himſelf maſter of Africa, Italy, and Peloponneſus; and he every day amuſed with his vaſt projects the impetuous youth who followed his footſteps, and who were entirely at his diſpoſal [m].

Whilſt affairs were thus circumſtanced, the city of Ægeſta in Sicily, which complained of being oppreſſed by the inhabitants of Selinus and Syracuſe, implored the aſſiſtance of her allies the Athenians; ſhe offered to indemnify them for their expences, and repreſented, that if they did not ſpeedily ſtop the progreſs of the Syracuſans, that people would not be long before they joined their troops to thoſe of Lacedæmon. The republic ſent deputies into Sicily, who, on their return, made

[l] Archeſt. ap. Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. [m] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.

an unfaithful report of the ſtate of things. The expedition was reſolved on, and Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus were named for generals; and ſo certain did the Athenians deem themſelves of ſucceſs, that the ſenate previouſly regulated the fate of the different ſtates of Sicily.

The ſenſible part of the citizens, however, were the more alarmed at theſe proceedings, as they had hitherto no accurate idea of the extent, forces, and riches of that iſland [n]. Notwithſtanding the law which forbids the revocation of a decree paſſed by all the orders of the ſtate, Nicias remonſtrated with the aſſembly, that the republic, not having been able yet to terminate the differences which had ariſen between her and the Lacedæmonians, the ſubſiſting peace was no more than a ſuſpenſion of arms; that her true enemies were in Peloponneſus, who only waited the departure of the army to pour into Attica; that the quarrels of the Sicilian cities had no connection with the Athenians; that it was the height of extravagance to ſacrifice the ſafety of the ſtate to the vanity or the intereſt of a young man, anxious to diſplay his magnificence in the ſight of the army; that ſuch citizens were formed only for the ruin of the ſtate, by ruining themſelves; and that it as ill became them to deliberate on ſuch weighty enterpriſes, as to carry them into execution [o].

"I behold with many fears," added Nicias, "that numerous band of youth who ſurround him, and whoſe ſuffrages he directs. Reſpectable old men, I ſolicit your voices, in the name of your country; and you, magiſtrates, call the people once more to the queſtion, and if the laws forbid it, reflect that the firſt of laws is the preſervation of the ſtate."

Alcibiades now addreſſed the aſſembly, and repreſented, that the Athenians, by protecting oppreſſed nations, had attained their preſent height of glory and of power [p]; that

[n] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 1.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 18.

it was no longer permitted them to abandon themſelves to a repoſe too capable of enervating the courage and ſpirit of their troops; that they would one day be ſubjected themſelves, if, from the preſent moment, they did not ſubject others; that many of the Sicilian cities were peopled only by barbarians or foreigners, inſenſible to the honour of their country, and ever ready to change maſters; that others, weary of their diviſions, waited only the arrival of the fleet, to ſubmit to the Athenians; that the conqueſt of this iſland would facilitate that of all Greece; that, on the ſlighteſt reverſe of fortune, they would find an aſylum in their ſhips; that the ſplendour of this expedition alone would aſtoniſh the Lacedæmonians; and that, ſhould the latter hazard an irruption into Attica, it would ſucceed no better than the former.

As for the reproaches which perſonally regarded him, he anſwered, that his magnificence had hitherto ſerved only to inſpire the nations of Greece with a high idea of the power of the Athenians, and to procure a ſufficient degree of authority to himſelf, in order to detach whole nations from the Peloponneſian league. "Beſides," added he, "ſince I am to ſhare the command of the army with Nicias, if my youth and follies have given any alarm, you will take courage from the good fortune that has always crowned his undertakings [q]."

This harangue inſpired the Athenians with new ardour. Their firſt project was to ſend only ſixty galleys into Sicily. Nicias, indirectly to divert them from it, repreſented, that, beſides, the fleet, a land army would be neceſſary; and drew a terrifying picture of the preparations, expences, and number of troops ſuch an expedition would require; when a voice from the midſt of the aſſembly exclaimed, "Nicias, we have nothing more to do with all theſe ſubtleties; inform us explicitly what number of ſoldiers and ſhips you judge actually

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 17.

neceſſary [r]." Nicias anſwering that he would conſult on the ſubject with the other generals, the aſſembly gave them full power to diſpoſe of all the orces of the republic.

The troops were ready to embark [s], when Alcibiades was accuſed of having, with ſome companions of his debaucheries, mutilated the ſtatues of Mercury which the inhabitants of Athens place before their houſes, and repreſented, at the concluſion of an entertainment, the ceremonies of the awful myſteries of Eleuſis. The people, who would have pardoned him every thing on any other occaſion, breathed nothing but rage and vengeance. Alcibiades, though at firſt terrified at the public indignation, ſoon found himſelf encouraged by the favourable diſpoſition of the fleet and army. He appeared before the aſſembly, and endeavoured to clear himſelf from the ſuſpicions raiſed againſt him, offering himſelf to death, if he ſhould be found guilty, but demanding an exemplary ſatisfaction ſhould his innocence be proved. His enemies, however, procured his trial to be delayed till his return, and obliged him to depart under the weight of an accuſation which held the ſword ſuſpended over his head.

The general rendezvous, as well for the Athenians as their allies, was appointed at Corcyra [t]; from whence the fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, took its departure, and proceeded to Rhegium, at the extremity of Italy *. It had on board five thouſand one hundred heavy armed ſoldiers, among whom were the choſen troops of the Athenians. To theſe were added four hundred and eighty archers, ſeven hundred ſlingers, ſome other light troops, and a ſmall body of cavalry.

The generals had required no greater forces; Nicias never thought of making himſelf maſter of Sicily; Alcibiades imagined that to ſubdue that iſland nothing more was neceſſary than to ſow diviſions. Each of theſe generals manifeſted his

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 25.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 27. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 3.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 42, 43, &c.
* The year 415 before Chriſt.

views in the firſt council they held before the opening of the campaign. Their inſtructions preſcribed to them, in general terms, to regulate the affairs of Sicily in the manner the moſt advantageous for the intereſts of the republic: their particular orders were to protect the Ægeſtians againſt the inhabitants of Selinus; and, if circumſtances would permit, to engage the Syracuſans to reſtore to the Leontines the poſſeſſions of which they had deprived them [u].

Nicias was for adhering to the letter of this decree, and intended, after putting it into execution, to carry back the fleet to the Piræus [x]. Alcibiades maintained, that as it was undoubtedly neceſſary to ſignalize ſuch great efforts of the Athenians by ſome important enterpriſes, deputies ſhould be ſent to the principal cities of Sicily, to excite them againſt the Syracuſans, to procure troops and proviſions from them; and, by the effect of theſe various negotiations, to determine whether to lay ſiege to Selinus or Syracuſe. Lamachus, the third general, propoſed to march inſtantly againſt the latter city, and take advantage of the panic into which the inhabitants had been thrown by the arrival of the Athenians [y]. The port of Megara, contiguous to Syracuſe, would contain the fleet, and a victory could not fail to produce a revolution in Sicily.

The opinion of Lamachus would probably have been juſtified by ſucceſs. The Syracuſans had taken no precautions againſt the ſtorm that menaced them; for they could with difficulty perſuade themſelves that the Athenians would be ſo mad as to attempt the conqueſt of ſuch a city as Syracuſe. "The people of Athens," exclaimed one of their orators, "ſhould think themſelves happy that we have never thought of bringing them under ſubjection to us [z]."

This project not being agreeable to the two other generals, Lamachus decided in favour of the opinion of Alcibiades.

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[u] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 47.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 49.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 36.

Whilſt the latter had taken Catana by ſurpriſe, and Naxos had opened her gates to him; whilſt his intrigues were on the point of forcing thoſe of Meſſana [a], and his hopes were beginning to be realized [b]; a galley ſailed from the Piræus with an order for his immediate return to Athens. His enemies had prevailed, and ſummoned him to appear to anſwer the accuſation, of which they had hitherto ſuſpended the proſecution. They did not dare to arreſt him, for fear of an inſurrection of the ſoldiers, and the deſertion of the allied troops, who, in general, had come into Sicily only at his requeſt [c]. He had at firſt determined to ſtand his trial, and confound his accuſers; but when he arrived at Thurium, reflecting on the injuſtice of the Athenians, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and retired into Peloponneſus [d].

His departure ſpread diſcouragement through the army. Nicias, who feared nothing when it was neceſſary to execute, and every thing when an enterpriſe was to be planned, ſuffered the ardour which Alcibiades had excited among the ſoldiers to ſubſide in inactivity or eaſy conqueſts. Yet he ſaw the moment when an enterpriſe, the conſequences of which he had always dreaded, was on the point of being crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. He had at length determined to lay ſiege to Syracuſe, and conducted his attacks with ſo much ability, that the inhabitants were inclined to ſurrender. Already ſeveral ſtates of Sicily and Italy had declared in his favour, when a Lacedæmonian general, named Gylippus, entered the beſieged city, with a few troops which he had brought from Peloponneſus, or collected in Sicily. Nicias might have prevented him from landing in the iſland, but loſt the opportunity [e]; an irreparable fault, which proved the ſource of all his misfortunes. Gylippus revived the courage of the Syracuſans, defeated the Athenians, and held them

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 51. Plut. in Alcib p. 202.
[b] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 61. Plut. ib. p. 200.
[d] Plut. ibid. p. 202.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 104.

blocked up in their entrenchments. Athens ſent to Sicily another fleet, conſiſting of about ſeventy-three galleys, under the command of Demoſthenes and Eurymedon, and a ſecond army of five thouſand men heavily armed, and ſome light troops [f].

Demoſthenes having loſt two thouſand men at the attack of an important poſt, and conſidering that the ſea would ſoon be no longer navigable, and that the troops were waſting away by diſorders, propoſed to abandon the enterpriſe, or tranſport the army to ſome healthier ſituation [g]. When they were on the point of ſetting ſail, Nicias, terrified at an eclipſe of the moon, which ſpread conſternation through the camp, conſulted the augurs, who directed him to wait twenty-ſeven days longer [h].

Before the expiration of this time, the Athenians, vanquiſhed by ſea and land, no longer able to remain under the walls of Syracuſe for want of proviſions, nor to eſcape out of the harbour, the mouth of which was ſhut up by the Syracuſans, took the reſolution to abandon their camp, their ſick, and their ſhips, and retire by land into ſome town of Sicily. They began their march, to the number of forty thouſand men [i], including not only the troops furniſhed them by the ſtates of Italy and Sicily, but the crews of the galleys, the workmen, and ſlaves.

In the mean time, the Syracuſans took poſſeſſion of the defiles of the mountains, and the fords of the rivers; they broke down the bridges, ſeized on the heights, and diſperſed various detachments of cavalry and light troops over the plain. The Athenians, haraſſed and impeded at every ſtep, found themſelves perpetually expoſed on every ſide to the weapons of an enemy whom they were no where able to attack. In this diſtreſs they were animated to perſevere, by the example

[f] Id. lib. 7. cap. 42.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 47 et 49. Juſtin. lib. 4. cap. 5.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 50.
[i] Id. lib. 7. cap. 75.

of their generals, and the exhortations of Nicias, who, notwithſtanding the debility to which he was reduced by a long illneſs, diſplayed a courage ſuperior to danger. For eight whole days they had to ſtruggle againſt new obſtacles continually increaſing. But Demoſthenes, who commanded the rear-guard, compoſed of ſix thouſand men, loſing his way in his march, was puſhed into a confined place, and after prodigies of valour, obliged to ſurrender, on condition that his ſoldiers ſhould have their lives granted them, and be ſpared the horrors of a dungeon [k].

Nicias having failed in a negotiation he had entered into, conducted the remainder of his army as far as the river Aſinarus [l]. On his arrival there, the greater part of the ſoldiers, tormented by a burning thirſt, ruſhed in confuſion into the river, while others were driven into it by the enemy. Such as attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, found on the oppoſite ſhore ſteep banks lined with dartmen, who made a terrible ſlaughter of them. Eight thouſand men periſhed in this attack [m]; till at length Nicias thus addreſſed Gylippus: "Diſpoſe of me as you ſhall think proper: but ſhow mercy at leaſt to theſe unhappy ſoldiers." Gylippus immediately put an end to the carnage. The Syracuſans returned to their city, bringing back with them ſeven thouſand priſoners [n], who were thrown into the quarries, where, for many months, they experienced inconceivable miſeries. Numbers of them periſhed there, and others were ſold as ſlaves.

A ſtill greater number of priſoners became the prize of the officers and ſoldiers; and all ended their days in chains, except a few of the Athenians, who owed their liberty to the tragedies of Euripides, then ſcarcely known in Sicily, being generouſly rewarded with freedom by their maſters, for reciting to them the moſt beautiful paſſages of that poet [o]. Ni-

k Id. ibid. cap. 82.
l Id. ibid. cap. 84.
m Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 148.
n Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 87.
o Plut. in Nic. p. 542.

cias and Demoſthenes were put to death, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of Gylippus to ſave their lives [p].

Athens, depreſſed by ſo unexpected a reverſe of fortune, foreboded ſtill greater calamities. Her allies were ready to ſhake off the yoke; the other ſtates of Greece were conſpiring her ruin [q]; the Peloponneſians already thought themſelves juſtified by her example in breaking the truce [r]. Already ſhe diſcovered in their operations, more ſkilfully planned and conducted, the ſpirit of vengeance, and the ſuperior genius by which they were directed. Alcibiades enjoyed at Lacedæmon that reſpect and influence he every where obtained. It was by his advice that the Lacedæmonians adopted the reſolution of ſending ſuccours to the Syracuſans, renewing their inroads into Attica, and fortifying, at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty ſtadia from Athens, the poſt of Decelia, which held that city blocked on the land ſide [s].

To annihilate the power of Athens, it was neceſſary to favour the revolt of her allies, and deſtroy her navy. Alcibiades repaired to the coaſts of Aſia Minor; and Chios, Miletus, and other flouriſhing cities, declared for the Lacedæmonians [t]. By his accompliſhments he captivated Tiſſaphernes, the governor of Sardes [u]; and the king of Perſia engaged to pay the fleet of Peloponneſus [x].

This ſecond war, conducted with more regularity than the former, would quickly have been terminated, had not Alcibiades, purſued by Agis, king of Lacedæmon, whoſe wife he had ſeduced, and by the other chiefs of the league, who took umbrage at his glory, at length conſidered that, after revenging himſelf on his country, it now only remained for him to protect it from inevitable ruin [y]. With this view, he contrived to ſuſpend the operations of Tiſſaphernes, and the

[p] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 86.
[q] Id. lib. 8. cap. 2.
[r] Id. lib. 7. cap. 19.
[s] Id. lib. 6. cap. 91. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.
[t] Id. lib. 8. cap. 12 et 17.
[u] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204.
[x] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 5. Juſtin. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[y] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204.

departure of the Perſian ſuccours, under the pretext that it was the intereſt of the great king to ſuffer the nations of Greece mutually to enfeeble each other [z].

The Athenians having ſoon after revoked the decree for his baniſhment, he puts himſelf at their head, reduces the ſtrong holds of the Helleſpont [a], forces one of the Perſian governors to ſign an advantageous treaty with the Athenians [b], and the Lacedæmonians to ſue for peace [c]. Their demand was rejected, for, deeming themſelves invincible henceforward under Alcibiades, the Athenians made a rapid tranſition from the moſt profound conſternation to the moſt inſolent preſumption. The hatred with which they were animated againſt that general was as quickly ſucceeded by the moſt extravagant gratitude, and the moſt unbounded affection.

When he returned to his country, his arrival, his ſtay, the pains he took to juſtify his conduct, were a ſeries of triumphs for himſelf, and of public rejoicings for the multitude [d]. When, amidſt the acclamations of the whole city, they ſaw him ſail from the Piræus with a fleet of a hundred ſhips, no doubt was entertained but that his rapid victories would ſoon force the inhabitants of the Peloponneſus to ſubmit to the law of the conqueror; the arrival of a courier was every moment expected with the news of the deſtruction of the enemy, and the conqueſt of Ionia [e].

In the midſt of theſe flattering expectations, they learned that fifteen of the Athenian galleys had fallen into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. The engagement took place during the abſence, and in contempt of the preciſe orders of Alcibiades, who had been obliged to paſs into Ionia to levy contributions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. On the firſt intelligence of this check, he inſtantly returned, and offered

[z] Juſtin. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[a] Plut. in Alcib. p. 206.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 208
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 177.
[d] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6. Plut. p. 209. Juſtin. lib. 5. cap. 4.
[e] Plut. ibid. p. 211.

battle to the victor, who did not venture to accept it [f]. He had retrieved the honour of Athens; the loſs was trifling, but it ſufficed for the jealouſy of his enemies. They exaſperated the people, who ſtripped him of the general command of the armies with as much precipitation as they had manifeſted in inveſting him with that dignity.

The war was ſtill continued for ſome years, always by ſea, and terminated by the battle of Ægos-Potamos, gained by the Peloponneſians in the ſtraits of the Helleſpont. Lyſander, the Lacedæmonian who commanded them [g], ſurpriſed the Athenian fleet of one hundred and eighty ſail, and made himſelf maſter of it with three thouſand priſoners *.

Alcibiades, who ſince his retreat had ſettled in the adjacent county, warned the Athenian generals of the danger of their ſituation, and of the want of diſcipline among their ſoldiers and ſeamen: but they deſpiſed the counſels of a man fallen into diſgrace [h].

The loſs of the battle brought on that of Athens, which ſurrendered for want of proviſions, after a few months ſiege †. Several of the allied powers propoſed to deſtroy the city; but Lacedæmon, attentive to her glory rather than her intereſt, refuſed to impoſe chains on a nation which had rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to Greece [i]: ſhe, however, condemned the Athenians not only to demoliſh the fortifications of the Piræus, as well as the long wall that joins the harbour to the city, but to deliver up all their galleys except twelve; to recal their exiles; to withdraw their garriſons from the cities they had taken; to form an offenſive and defenſive league with the Lacedæmonians, and to follow them by ſea and land whenever they ſhould receive orders [k].

[f] Plut. in Alcib. p. 211. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 442.

[g] Xenoph. lib. 2. p. 455 et 457. Plut. in Lyſandr. p. 440.

* The year 405 before Chriſt.

[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 456. Plut. in Alcib. p. 212. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 8.

† Towards the end of April of the year 404 before Chriſt.

[i] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 460. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399. Andoc. de Pace, p. 26.

[k] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 226.

The walls were thrown down to the ſound of inſtruments, as if Greece had recovered her liberty[l]; and ſome months after, the victors permitted the people to elect thirty magiſtrates, who were to eſtabliſh another form of government, and concluded by uſurping the ſovereign authority[m]*.

They firſt exerted their power to put to death a multitude of ſlanderous informers, odious to all honeſt men; next to deſtroy the enemies of their uſurpation; and ſoon after to murder all thoſe whoſe riches they wiſhed to ſeize. Some Lacedæmonian troops granted them by Lyſander, and three thouſand citizens they had aſſociated with them to ſupport their authority, openly defended theſe acts of injuſtice[n]. The nation, diſarmed, ſuddenly fell into a ſtate of extreme ſervitude. Exile, impriſonment, and death were the lot of all who declared againſt the tyranny, or ſeemed to condemn it by their ſilence. It continued but eight months[o]; and in this ſhort interval upwards of fifteen hundred citizens were cruelly maſſacred and deprived of funeral honours[p]. The greater part abandoned a city where neither the victims nor the witneſſes of oppreſſion dared to murmur a complaint: for the ſufferer was required to be mute, and the compaſſionate to conceal his pity.

Socrates alone did not permit himſelf to be ſhaken by the iniquity of the times; he ventured to conſole the unfortunate, and reſiſt the orders of the tyrants[q]. But it was not his virtue that alarmed them; they dreaded with more reaſon the genius of Alcibiades, on whoſe meaſures they kept a ſtrict eye.

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l Id. ibid. Plut. in Lyſandr. p. 441.

m Lyſ. in Eratoſth. p. 192. Xen. ibid. p. 461. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 236.

* Towards the ſummer of the year 404 before Chriſt.

n Lyſ. ibid. p. 227. Xenoph. ibid. p. 463.

o Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. iii. p. 264.

p Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 345. Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 782. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 466.

q Xenoph. Memor. p. 716. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 237. Senec. de Tranquill. Anim. cap. 3.

He was then in a ſmall town of Phrygia, under the government of Pharnabazus, from whom he received every mark of diſtinction and friendſhip. Informed of the levies the younger Cyrus was making in Aſia Minor, he concluded that this prince meditated an expedition againſt his brother Artaxerxes, and determined to repair to the court of the king of Perſia, to appriſe him of the danger, and to obtain ſuccours for the deliverance of his country; but aſſaſſins ſent by the ſatrap ſuddenly ſurrounded his houſe, and, wanting the courage to attack him, ſet fire to it. Alcibiades ruſhed forth ſword in hand through the flames, repulſed the barbarians, and fell beneath a ſhower of darts [r]. He was then forty years of age. His death fixes a ſtain on Lacedæmon, if it be true that the magiſtrates, partaking of the fears of the Athenian tyrants, engaged Pharnabazus to perpetrate this atrocious murder. But others aſſert that it originated entirely with himſelf, and that he was only actuated by private motives [s].

The glory of ſaving Athens was reſerved to Thraſybulus. That generous citizen, whoſe merit had placed him at the head of thoſe who had fled from their country, and who had been deaf to all the propoſals made him by the tyrants to partake of their power, gained poſſeſſion of the Piræus, and ſummoned the people to liberty [t]. Some of the tyrants periſhed in arms; others were condemned to death. A general amneſty reconciled the two parties, and reſtored tranquillity to Athens [u].

Some years after that city ſhook off the yoke of Lacedæmon, re-eſtabliſhed the democracy, and entered into the treaty of peace concluded by the Spartan Antalcidas with Artaxerxes *. By this treaty, which circumſtances rendered neceſſary, the Greek colonies of Aſia Minor, and ſome of the neighbour-

[r] Plutarch. in Alcib. p. 212 et 213. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 10.
[s] Ephor. ap. Diod. lib. 13. p. 242.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. 2. p. 472.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 479.
* The year 387 before Chriſt.

ing iſlands, were given up to Perſia; the other nations of Greece regained their laws and independence [x], but remained in a ſtate of weakneſs, from which perhaps they never will recover. Thus were the differences terminated which had occaſioned the Median war, and that of Peloponneſus.

The hiſtorical eſſay I have here given concludes with the taking of Athens. In the relation of my travels, I ſhall inſert an account of the principal events that have occurred ſubſequent to that period, and to the time of my return into Scythia: I ſhall now proceed to hazard a few remarks on the age of Pericles.

At the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, the Athenians muſt have been greatly ſurpriſed to find themſelves ſo different from their anceſtors. A few years had ſufficed to deſtroy the authority of all the laws, inſtitutions, maxims, and examples accumulated by preceding ages for the conſervation of manners. Never was there a more dreadful proof, that great ſucceſſes are as dangerous for the victors as the vanquiſhed.

I have already indicated the fatal effects produced on the Athenians by their conqueſts, and the flouriſhing ſtate of their navy and their commerce. We have ſeen them rapidly extending the dominions of the republic, and tranſporting into her boſom the ſpoils of the allied and ſubjugated nations: hence the ſucceſſive progreſs of a ruinous luxury, and the inſatiable thirſt for feſtivals and ſpectacles. As the government abandoned itſelf to the delirium of a pride that imagined every thing warrantable, becauſe there was nothing it dared not to attempt, individuals, from its example, ſhook off every ſpecies of conſtraint enjoined either by nature or ſociety.

Merit ſoon could only obtain eſteem; reſpect was reſerved for power and influence: all the paſſions were directed to-

[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 549. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 368. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 608. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 319.

wards perſonal intereſt, and all the ſources of corruption ſpread themſelves with profuſion over the ſtate. Love, which heretofore had concealed itſelf under the veils of Hymen and of modeſty, flamed openly with illegitimate fires. Courteſans multiplied in Attica, and throughout all Greece [y]. Some of theſe women came from Ionia, from that beautiful climate where the art of voluptuouſneſs took birth. Some attached to their perſons a multiplicity of admirers, all of whom they loved without a preference, and who all loved them without rivalry; others, confining themſelves to a ſingle conqueſt [z], by an appearance of propriety, ſucceeded in attracting reſpect and commendation from that eaſy public, which imputed to them as a merit this fidelity to their engagements.

Pericles, a witneſs to the abuſe, did not attempt to correct it. The more ſevere he was in his own manners, the more attentive was he to corrupt thoſe of the Athenians, which he relaxed by a rapid ſucceſſion of feſtivals and games [a].

The celebrated Aſpaſia, a native of Miletus in Ionia, ſeconded the views of Pericles, whoſe miſtreſs and ſpouſe ſhe was ſucceſſively. She had obtained ſuch an aſcendency over him, that he was accuſed of having more than once engaged his country in war, to avenge her perſonal quarrels [b]. She had the boldneſs to form a ſociety of courteſans, whoſe charms and favours were employed to attach the young Athenians [c] to her intereſts. A few years before, the whole city would have revolted at the idea of ſuch a project; but now, when carried into execution, it only excited ſome feeble murmurs: the comic poets freely ſatirized *Aſpaſia* [d]; but this did not hinder her houſe from being frequented by the beſt company of Athens.

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[y] Athen. lib. 13. p. 569.
[z] Terent. in Heautontim. act. 2. ſcen. 3.
[a] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.
[b] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. act. 2. ſcen. 5. v. 527. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165 et 168.
[c] Plut. ibid. p. 165.
[d] Cratin. Eupol. ap. Plut. ibid.

Pericles authorized this licentiouſneſs; Aſpaſia extended it; and Alcibiades rendered it amiable: his life was an example of every ſpecies of diſſolute manners; but his vices were all accompanied with ſo many ſplendid qualities, and ſo often mingled with noble actions, that public cenſure knew not on what to faſten [e]. Beſides, how was it poſſible to reſiſt the charm of a poiſon which the graces themſelves ſeemed to diſtribute? or to condemn a man who poſſeſſed every requiſite to pleaſe, or to ſeduce; who was the firſt to condemn himſelf; who repaired the ſlighteſt offences by ſuch conciliating attentions, and who ſeemed leſs to commit faults than to fall into them through negligence? The public were, therefore, led to rank them among thoſe amuſements, or thoſe errors, which diſappear with the fire of youth [f]; and, as indulgence for vice is always a conſpiracy againſt virtue, it happened, that, excepting a ſmall number of citizens inflexibly attached to ancient maxims [g], the nation, hurried away by the graces of Alcibiades, became the accomplices of his exceſſes, and concluded by defending what they had begun by excuſing.

The young Athenians fixed their eyes on this dangerous model; and, unable to imitate its beauties, thought to approach it by copying, and eſpecially by overcharging its defects. They became frivolous, becauſe he was giddy; inſolent, becauſe he was bold; regardleſs of the laws, becauſe he paid no reſpect to propriety of manners. Some not ſo wealthy, but equally prodigal with himſelf, diſplayed a luxury that rendered them ridiculous [h], and drew down ruin on their families: the diſorders they tranſmitted to their deſcendants, and the baneful influence of the example of Alcibiades ſubſiſted long after his death.

A judicious hiſtorian obſerves [i], that war modifies the manners of a people, and ſours them in proportion to their ſuf-

[e] Plut. in Alcib p. 199.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 198.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Nub. ſcen. 1.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 82.

ferings. That of Peloponneſus was ſo long, and the Athenians experienced ſo many reverſes of fortune, as to occaſion a remarkable alteration in their character. Their vengeance was not ſatisfied, unleſs it exceeded the offence. More than once they iſſued decrees which condemned to death the inhabitants of the iſlands who had forſaken their alliance [k]; their generals more than once inflicted dreadful tortures on the priſoners who fell into their hands [l]. They now, therefore, no longer remembered that ancient inſtitution, by which the Greeks were accuſtomed to celebrate with ſongs of joy the victories gained over the barbarians; but to recount with tears and lamentations the advantages they had obtained over the other Greeks [m].

The author I have quoted further obſerves, that, in the courſe of this fatal war, ſuch a general ſubverſion of ideas and principles took place, that the words moſt in uſe entirely changed their meaning: good faith was called ſimplicity and credulity; duplicity, addreſs; and prudence and moderation, feebleneſs and puſillanimity; while audacity and violence were conſidered as the ſallies of a ſtrong mind, and an ardent zeal in the common cauſe [n]. Such a confuſion in language is perhaps one of the moſt dreadful ſymptoms of the depravity of a people. In other times, attacks are made on virtue; yet to aſſign limits to her is ſtill to acknowledge her authority: but when a ſociety proceeds to diveſt her even of her name, her claims are at an end; vice uſurps the ſceptre, and maintains herſelf undiſturbed on the throne.

Thoſe bloody wars in which the Greeks had been engaged, extinguiſhed a great number of families accuſtomed, for many ages, to conſider their own glory as inſeparable from the glory of their country [o]. The foreigners and new men who ſupplied their places, made the balance of power ſudden-

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 36.
[l] Xen. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 457. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 166.
[m] Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 205.
[n] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 82.
[o] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 404.

ly incline in favour of the people [p]. The following example will ſhow to what exceſs they now ventured to carry their inſolence. Towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, a player on the lyre, formerly a ſlave, ſince become a citizen by his intrigues, and adored by the multitude for his liberality, was ſeen to come into the general aſſembly armed with an axe, and threaten with impunity to cleave the ſkull of the firſt man who ſhould give his vote for peace [q]. A few years after Athens was taken by the Lacedæmonians, and in a ſhort time again ſunk under the arms of the king of Macedon.

Such was the deſtiny of a ſtate founded upon manners. Philoſophers, who aſcend to the cauſes of great events, have ſaid that every age bears, in ſome manner, within itſelf the age that is to follow. This bold metaphor contains an important truth, confirmed by the hiſtory of Athens. The age of laws and virtue prepared that of valour and of glory; the latter produced that of conqueſts and of luxury, which terminated in the deſtruction of the republic.

At preſent let us turn our eyes from theſe afflicting ſcenes, and fix them on more agreeable and more intereſting objects. Towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, Nature redoubled her efforts, and on a ſudden gave birth to a number of men of genius in every branch of knowledge. Of theſe Athens produced ſeveral, and ſaw a ſtill greater number reſort to her to court the honour of her approbation and eſteem.

Without mentioning a Gorgias, a Parmenides, a Protagoras, and many other eloquent ſophiſts, who, by deſſeminating their doubts, multiplied ideas, Sophocles, Euripides, Ariſtophanes, ſhone on the ſtage, ſurrounded by rivals who ſhared in their glory. The aſtronomer Meton calculated the motions of the heavens, and fixed the limits of the year; the orators Antiphon, Andocides, and Lyſias, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the different ſpecies of eloquence; Thucydides, ex-

[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 389.

[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 407.

cited to emulation by the applauſes beſtowed upon Herodotus, while he read his hiſtory to the Athenians, was labouring to merit a ſimiliar reward; Socrates tranſmitted a ſublime doctrine to his diſciples, ſeveral of whom have founded ſchools; able generals enſured victory to the arms of the republic; the moſt magnificent ediſices were erected after the deſigns of the moſt able architects; the pencils of Polygnotus, Parrhaſius, and Zeuxis, and the chiſels of Phidias and Alcamenes, were exerted with emulation to decorate the temples, the porticos, and public places. All theſe great men, as alſo all thoſe who flouriſhed in other parts of Greece, were preparing to reexiſt in pupils worthy to ſucceed them; and it was eaſy to foreſee that the moſt corrupted would ſoon become the moſt enlightened of ages.

Thus, whilſt the reſpective ſtates of this country were menaced with loſing the empire both of the ſea and land, a peaceful claſs of citizens were labouring to ſecure to it for ever the empire of the mind: they erected in honour of their nation a temple, the foundations of which had been laid in the preceding century, and was to reſiſt the ravages of centuries to come. The ſciences every day acquired ſtrength by new diſcoveries, and the arts by their continued progreſs. Poetry did not increaſe her ſplendour; but retaining it, employed her powers to embelliſh tragedy and comedy, which were at once carried to their higheſt perfection. Hiſtory, ſubjected to the laws of true criticiſm, rejected the marvellous, diſcuſſed facts [r], and became an inſtructive leſſon, which paſt times tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages. In proportion as the edifice aroſe, barren waſtes were diſcovered at a diſtance, and others which waited only for more ſkilful cultivation. The rules of logic and of rhetoric, the abſtractions of metaphyſics, and the maxims of morality, were explained in works which to regularity of plan united preciſion of ideas and elegance of ſtyle.

[r] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20 et 21.

Greece partly owed theſe advantages to the influence of philoſophy, which aroſe out of obſcurity after the victories gained over the Perſians. Zeno appeared, and the Athenians exerciſed themſelves in the ſubtleties of the Elean ſchool. Anaxagoras brought them acquainted with the knowledge and diſcoveries of Thales; and ſome of them were perſuaded that eclipſes, monſters, and the diverſified ſports of nature, ſhould no longer be enumerated in the liſt of prodigies; but this they were obliged to communicate in confidence [s]; for the people, accuſtomed to conſider certain phænomena as warnings from heaven, proceeded againſt thoſe philoſophers who wiſhed to reclaim them from this ſuperſtition. Perſecuted and baniſhed, they learned that the truth, to gain admiſſion amongſt men, muſt not preſent herſelf unveiled, but be clandeſtinely introduced in the retinue of error.

The arts, finding no popular prejudices to combat, met not with ſimilar reſtraints. The temple of Jupiter, begun under Piſiſtratus; and that of Theſeus, conſtructed under Cimon; furniſhed the architect with models: but the pictures and ſtatues then ſubſiſting preſented the painter and the ſculptor only with eſſays, which their genius muſt mature into perfection.

Some years before the Peloponneſian war, Panænus, the brother of Phidias, painted the battle of Marathon in one of the porticos of Athens; and the ſurpriſe of the ſpectators was extreme, when they perceived they could diſcover in theſe pictures the chiefs of the two armies [t]. He ſurpaſſed thoſe who had preceded him, and almoſt at the very inſtant was ſurpaſſed by Polygnotus of Thaſos, Apollodorus of Athens, Zeuxis of Heraclea, and Parrhaſius of Epheſus. Polygnotus was the firſt who varied the expreſſions of the countenance, and deviated from the dry and ſervile manner of his

[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 154. Id. in Nic. p. 538.

[t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 690. Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 402.

predeceſſors [u]; he was likewiſe the firſt who embelliſhed his female figures, and clothed them with light and elegant drapery. His portraits bear the impreſſion of moral beauty, the idea of which was deeply engraven in his ſoul [x]. He ſhould not be cenſured for not ſufficiently diverſifying the tone of his colours [y]: it was the fault of the art, which, if we may uſe the expreſſion, was then but newly born.

Apollodorus, in this branch of his art, poſſeſſed the reſources in which Polygnotus was deficient: he produced a happy mixture of light and ſhade. Zeuxis immediately improved on this diſcovery; and Apollodorus, deſirous of authenticating his glory, exalted that of his rival. In a poem written by him, he ſays: "I had diſcovered, for the diſtribution of ſhades, ſecrets unknown until our days; they have been wreſted from me: the art is in the hands of Zeuxis [z]."

The latter ſtudied nature [a] with the ſame attention that he beſtowed on finiſhing his productions [b]; theſe are reſplendent with beauties. In his picture of Penelope he ſeems to have painted the manners and character of that princeſs [c]; but in general he has been leſs ſucceſsful in this particular than Polygnotus [d].

Zeuxis accelerated the progreſs of the art by the beauty of his colouring; Parrhaſius his rival, by the purity and correctneſs of deſign [e], for he was acquainted with the ſcience of proportions. Thoſe he gave his gods and heroes appeared ſo happy, that artiſts did not heſitate to adopt them, and decreed him the name of legiſlator [f]. He had other titles to their admiration. He ſhowed them, for the firſt time, ex-

[u] Plin. ibid. c. 9. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxv. p. 194 et 271.
[x] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 455. Id. de Poet. cap 2. t. ii. p. 653.
[y] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 743.
[z] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxv. p. 195.
[a] Cicer. de Invent. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. 1. p. 75. Dionyſ. Halicar. Vet. Script. Cenſ. cap. 1. t. v. p. 417. Plin. ibid.
Iut. in Per. t. 1. p 139.
[c] Plin. ibid.
[d] Ariſtot. de Poet. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 657.
[e] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691.
[f] Quintil. ibid.

preſſive airs of heads, mouths embelliſhed by the graces, and hair pourtrayed with delicacy [g].

To theſe two artiſts ſucceeded Timanthes, whoſe works, giving us to underſtand more than they expreſs, diſcover the great artiſt, and ſtill more the man of wit [h]; Pamphilus, who acquired ſuch a degree of authority by his merit, as to procure ſchools for drawing, from which ſlaves were excluded, to be eſtabliſhed in ſeveral of the Grecian cities [i]; Euphranor, who, ever equal to himſelf, excelled in all the branches of painting [k]. I have known ſome of theſe artiſts, and have ſince learned, that a pupil whom I have ſeen with Pamphilus, named Apelles, has ſurpaſſed them all.

The progreſs and improvement of ſculpture was not inferior to that of painting. To prove this, it is only neceſſary to repeat the names of Phidias, Polycletus, Alcamenes, Scopas, and Praxiteles. The firſt lived in the time of Pericles. I was acquainted with the latter. Thus, in leſs than the ſpace of a ſingle century, has this art attained ſuch a degree of excellence, that the ancient ſculptors would at this day be obliged to bluſh for their productions and their celebrity [l].

If to theſe different generations of talents we add thoſe which preceded them, aſcending from Pericles to the time of Thales, the moſt ancient of the Grecian philoſophers, we ſhall find that the human mind has acquired more in the interval of about two hundred years, than in the long ſucceſſion of preceding ages. What powerful hand was it that ſuddenly impreſſed on it, and ſtill preſerves, even to our days, a motion at once ſo rapid and ſo productive?

I imagine that from time to time, perhaps even in every generation, Nature ſcatters over the earth a certain portion of talents, which remain buried when nothing contributes to

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[g] Plin. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xix. p. 266; t. xxv. p. 163.
[h] Plin. ibid. p. 694.
[i] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 694.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 703.
[l] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282.

develope them, and awaken as from a profound ſleep when one amongſt them accidentally opens a new path to fame. Thoſe who ruſh into it firſt, divide among them, if I may ſo ſpeak, the provinces of this new empire: theſe their ſucceſſors have the merit of cultivating and giving law to. But there are limits to the diſcoveries of the mind, as there are to the enterpriſes of conquerors and navigators. The greateſt diſcoveries immortalize thoſe who have made, and thoſe who have improved them; till at length men of genius, no longer poſſeſſing the ſame reſources, ceaſe to meet with the ſame ſucceſs, and are almoſt reduced to a level with the claſs of ordinary men.

To this general cauſe ſeveral partial ones muſt be added. At the commencement of the great revolution of which I ſpeak, the philoſopher Pherecydes of Scyros, and the hiſtorians Cadmus and Hecatæus of Miletus, introduced into their writings the uſe of proſe [m], better calculated than poetry for the communication of ideas. Towards the ſame period Thales, Pythagoras, and other Greeks, brought from Egypt and the countries of the Eaſt, various kinds of ſcience, which they taught to their diſciples. Whilſt theſe were ſilently taking root in the ſchools inſtituted in Sicily, Italy, and on the coaſts of Aſia, every thing conſpired to the birth and rapid improvement of the arts.

Such as depend on the imagination, are more eſpecially deſtined among the Greeks to the embelliſhment of their feſtivals and temples; they are employed likewiſe to celebrate the heroic acts of nations, and the names of the victors in the ſolemn games of Greece. Diſpenſers of the glory they partake, the Greeks found, after the Perſian war, more occaſions than formerly to exerciſe theſe ſublime arts.

Greece, after enjoying for ſome time a proſperity that increaſed her power [n], fell into a ſtate of diſſenſion which

[m] Plin. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. i. p. 278.; lib. 7. p. 417. Strab. lib. 1. p. 18. Suid in Pherecyd.

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 72.

gave a ſurpriſing degree of activity to every mind. She beheld wars and victories, riches, and luxury, artiſts, and monuments, multiply at once within her boſom: the feſtivals became more ſplendid, public ſpectacles more common; the temples were covered with paintings, and the environs of Delphi and Olympia with ſtatues. On the ſmalleſt ſucceſs, piety, or rather national vanity, paid a tribute to induſtry, excited likewiſe by an inſtitution which turned to the advantage of the arts. Was a public ſquare or edifice to be decorated; ſeveral artiſts treated the ſame ſubject: they exhibited their performances or their plans, and the preference was given to him who united the greateſt number of public ſuffrages in his favour [o]. More ſolemn competitions were inſtituted in favour of painting and muſic, at Delphi, Corinth, Athens, and other places. The Grecian cities which had known only the rivalry of arms, now became acquainted with that of talents: the greater part of them aſſumed a new appearance, after the example of Athens, which ſurpaſſed them all in magnificence.

Pericles, wiſhing to give employment to a people [p] formidable to their chiefs in the inactivity of peace, reſolved to dedicate to the embelliſhment of the city, a great part of the contributions furniſhed by the allies to ſupport the Perſian war, and which had been hitherto kept in reſerve in the citadel. He repreſented that, by throwing this wealth into circulation, it would procure to the nation an abundance for the preſent moment, and immortal glory in futurity [q]. The ſhops of artiſts and the public places were inſtantly filled with an infinite number of labourers and mechanics, whoſe exertions were directed by intelligent maſters, after the deſigns of Phidias. Theſe works, which a great empire would ſcarcely have ventured to undertake, and which ſeemed to require a long ſpace of time for their execution, were completed by

[o] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 725.
[p] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 159.

a little republic, in a very few years, under the adminiſtration of a ſingle man, without either ſuffering in their elegance or ſolidity by ſuch aſtoniſhing diligence. They coſt about three thouſand talents [r] *.

While theſe works were carrying on, Pericles was reproached by his enemies with diſſipating the money of the ſtate. "Are you of opinion," ſaid he one day to the general aſſembly, "that the expence is too great?" "Far too great," anſwered ſome perſon. "Well then," replied he, "I will take it entirely on myſelf, and inſcribe my name on theſe edifices." "No, no," exclaimed the people, "let them be erected at the expence of the treaſury; and ſpare nothing for their completion [s]."

A taſte for the arts began to introduce itſelf among a ſmall number of citizens; that for paintings and ſtatues among the rich. The dazzled multitude judge of the power of a ſtate by its magnificence; hence, that reſpect for artiſts who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a happy boldneſs. Some laboured gratuitouſly for the republic, and had honours decreed them [t]; others there were who enriched themſelves either by teaching pupils [u], or exacting a tribute from thoſe who came to their workſhops to admire their maſterly productions [x]. Several of them, elated with the general approbation, found a ſtill more flattering recompence in the conſcionſneſs of their ſuperiority, and in the homage they themſelves rendered to their abilities; nor did they bluſh to inſcribe on their pictures, "It will be eaſier to criticiſe than to imitate [y]." Zeuxis acquired ſuch great wealth, that towards the end of his life he made preſents of his paintings, affirming that nobody was rich enough to pay their value [z]. Parrhaſius had ſuch an exalted opinion

[r] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
* See note VIII. at the end of the volume.
[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
[t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Suid. et Harpocr. in Polygn.
[u] Plin. ibid. p. 694.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 12.
[y] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346.
[z] Plin. ibid.

of himſelf as to lay claim to a divine origin [a]. To the intoxication of their pride was added that of the public admiration.

Though letters were cultivated more early, and with greater ſucceſs than the arts, it may be aſſerted that, excepting poetry, they received leſs encouragement from the Greeks. Eloquence and hiſtory were held in great eſtimation, becauſe the former was neceſſary to the diſcuſſion of their intereſts, and the latter to the gratification of their vanity; but the other branches of literature owe their improvement rather to the vigour of the ſoil, than to any protection of the government. In ſeveral cities we find ſchools for the athletæ maintained at the public expence; but no where any permament inſtitutions for the exerciſes of the mind. It is but lately that the ſtudy of arithmetic and geometry have conſtituted a part of education, and that the doctrines of natural philoſophy have ceaſed to be an object of averſion and alarm. Under Pericles, philoſophical reſearches were rigorouſly proſcribed by the Athenians [b]; and, whilſt ſoothſayers frequently received an honourable public maintenance in the prytaneum [c], the philoſophers ſcarcely ventured to confide their opinions to their moſt faithful diſciples; nor were they more favourably received among other nations. Every where the objects of hatred or contempt, they eſcaped from the fury of fanaticiſm only by holding truth in captivity, and from the virulence of envy by a voluntary or conſtrained poverty. Though more tolerated at preſent, they are ſtill ſo cloſely watched, that on the ſmalleſt offence philoſophy would experience a repetition of all the perſecution it has formerly ſuffered.

From theſe reflections we may conclude, firſt, that the Greeks have always honoured the talents ſubſervient to their pleaſures, more than thoſe which contribute to their inſtruc-

[a] Id. ibid. p. 694.
[b] Plut in Per. t. i. p. 169.
[c] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 338.

tion; ſecondly, that natural have had more influence than moral cauſes in the progreſs of letters, and moral more than natural in that of the arts; and thirdly, that the Athenians are not juſtified in attributing to themſelves the origin, or at leaſt the perfection of the arts and ſciences [d]. Falſely do they flatter themſelves that they have opened and pointed out to other nations the glorious paths to immortality [e]; Nature does not ſeem to have diſtinguiſhed them from the other Greeks in the diſtribution of her favours. They have indeed invented the drama; they have produced celebrated orators, two or three hiſtorians, and a very ſmall number of painters, ſculptors, and able architects; but in almoſt all theſe branches the reſt of Greece may produce a multitude of illuſtrious names to diſpute their claim. I do not even know whether the climate of Attica be ſo favourable to the productions of genius as that of Ionia and Sicily.

Athens is not ſo much the birth-place as the reſidence of great talents. Her riches enable her to employ them, and her knowledge to appreciate their value: the magnificence of her feſtivals, the mildneſs of her laws, the number and complacent character of her inhabitants, would ſuffice to fix within her walls men eager to acquire fame, who muſt have a theatre, rivals, and judges.

Pericles attached ſuch men to him by the ſuperiority of his influence; Aſpaſia, by the charms of her converſation; and both, by a diſcerning eſteem. Aſpaſia can be compared only with herſelf. The Greeks were ſtill leſs aſtoniſhed at her beauty than her eloquence, and the profundity and elegance of her underſtanding. Socrates, Alcibiades, men of letters, the moſt celebrated artiſts, and the moſt amiable of the Athenians of either ſex, aſſembled around this extraordinary woman, who commanded the reſpect of all, and converſed in all their languages.

[d] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 138.

[e] Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 250.

This ſociety was the model of thoſe which have been ſince formed. The love of letters, arts, and enjoyments, which connects all men, and confounds diſtinctions, rendered ſenſible the merit of a delicacy in language and manners. Such as had received from Nature the gift of pleaſing, exerted every endeavour to pleaſe; and this deſire embelliſhed talents with new graces. The tone of good company was ſoon diſtinguiſhable. This, as it is partly founded on arbitrary conventions, and ſuppoſes a degree of refinement and tranquillity of mind, was long in purifying, and could never find its way into all ranks of ſociety. In a word, that politeneſs which at firſt was only the expreſſion of eſteem, inſenſibly degenerated into diſſimulation; every one was careful to laviſh attentions upon others, that he might receive ſtill greater in return, and to flatter their ſelf-love, that they might not wound his own.

TRAVELS

IN

GREECE.

CHAP. I.

Departure from Scythia.—The Tauric Cherſoneſus *.—*The Pontus Euxinus* †.—*State of Greece, from the taking of Athens, Anno A. C.* 404, *to the Departure of Anacharſis on his Travels.—The Thracian Boſphorus.—Arrival at Byzantium* ‡.

ANACHARSIS, a native of Scythia, the ſon of Toxaris, is the author of this work, which he addreſſes to his friends. He begins by ſtating to them the motives that induced him to travel.

You know that I am deſcended from the ſage Anacharſis, ſo celebrated among the Greeks, and ſo unworthily treated by the Scythians. The hiſtory of his life and death inſpired me, from my earlieſt childhood, with eſteem for the nation which had honoured, and with diſtaſte for that which knew not how to appreciate, his virtues.

This diſguſt was ſtill more increaſed by the arrival of a Greek ſlave, whom I purchaſed. He was of one of the prin-

* The Crimea.
† The Black Sea.
‡ Conſtantinople.

cipal families of Thebes in Bœotia. About thirty-ſix years before *, he had followed the younger Cyrus in the expedition undertaken by that prince againſt his brother Artaxerxes, king of Perſia. Being taken priſoner in one of thoſe engagements to which the Greeks were compelled in their retreat, he frequently changed maſters, and wore the chains of ſervitude in different nations, till chance brought him to the country in which I lived.

The more I became acquainted with him, the more ſenſible was I of the aſcendancy of an enlightened over an uninſtructed people. Timagenes, for that was the Theban's name, at once delighted and humbled me by the charms of his converſation, and the ſuperiority of his knowledge: the hiſtory of the Greeks, their manners, government, ſciences, arts, feſtivals, and ſpectacles, were the inexhauſtible topics of our converſation. I interrogated him, and I liſtened to his replies with tranſport. I was then juſt entering my eighteenth year, and my imagination added the livelieſt colours to the richneſs of his deſcriptions. I had hitherto ſeen nothing but tents, flocks, and deſerts. From this time, incapable of enduring the wandering life I had till then led, and the profound ignorance to which I was condemned, I reſolved to abandon a climate where Nature ſcarcely provided for the neceſſities of man, and a nation whoſe only virtue ſeemed to me to conſiſt in its ignorance of vice [a].

I have paſſed the prime years of my life in Greece, in Egypt, and in Perſia; but my longeſt abode was in the former of theſe countries. I enjoyed the laſt moments of its glory; nor quitted it till I ſaw its liberty expire in the plain of Chæronea. While viſiting its provinces, I carefully noted down every thing that I believed to merit attention, and from this journal, on my return to Scythia, I drew up the narrative of my travels, which poſſibly would have been more accurate,

* The year 400 before J. C.

[a] Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 2.

had not the ſhip by which I ſent my books been loſt in the Euxine ſea.

And you, whom I was ſo fortunate as to know in my journey into Perſia, you, Arſames and Phedime, illuſtrious pair, how often have I been on the point of inſerting your names in my narrative! In how lively a manner did they recur to my remembrance, when I had to pourtray ſome ſupereminent quality of the heart or mind; or to ſpeak of benevolence and gratitude! You have claims upon this work. I partly compoſed it in that delightful reſidence of which you conſtitute the nobleſt ornament; I finiſhed it far from Perſia, yet, as I may ſay, always under your eyes; for the moments paſſed with you can never be obliterated from my memory. The recollection of theſe will conſtitute the happineſs of the remainder of my life, and I have no other wiſh, but that, after my death, theſe words ſhould be deeply engraven on the ſtone that covers my aſhes: "He obtained the friendſhip of Arſames and Phedime."

Towards the end of the firſt year of the 104th Olympiad *, I took my departure with Timagenes, to whom I had given his liberty. After traverſing vaſt ſolitudes, we arrived on the banks of the Tanais, near to the ſpot where it falls into a kind of ſea, known by the name of the Lake, or Palus Mæotis. There taking ſhipping, we proceeded to the city of Panticapæum, ſituated on an eminence [b], near the entrance of the ſtrait called the Cimmerian Boſphorus, which joins the Palus Mæotis to the Euxine ſea.

This city, where the Greeks formerly eſtabliſhed a colony [c], is become the capital of a ſmall empire, which extends along the eaſtern coaſt of the Cherſoneſus Taurica. Leucon had reigned there about thirty years [d]. He was a generous and magnificent prince [e], who more than once had de-

* In the month of April of the year 363 before J. C.

[b] Strab. lib. 7. p. 309.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 310. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 218.

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 432.

[e] Chryſip. ap. Plut. de Stoicor. repugn. t. ii. p. 1043.

feated conſpiracies, and gained victories, by his addreſs and courage [f]. We did not ſee him; for he was then at the head of his army. The inhabitants of Heraclea in Bithynia had ſome time before appeared with a powerful fleet, to make a deſcent on his dominions; Leucon, perceiving that his troops made but a feeble oppoſition to the enemy, placed a body of Scythians in the rear, with orders to attack them, if they had the cowardice to give way [g].

A ſaying of this king is related, which I cannot repeat without ſhuddering. His favourites, by falſe accuſations, had driven away ſeveral of his friends, and obtained poſſeſſion of their fortunes. He at length diſcovered their villany, and one of them having laid a new information of the ſame kind, "Wretch," ſaid he to him, "I would put thee "to death, were not ſuch raſcals as thou art neceſſary to "deſpots [h]."

The Tauric Cherſoneſus produces corn in abundance, and the earth, barely grazed by the ploughſhare, yields the huſbandman an increaſe of thirty for one [i]. The commerce carried on there by the Greeks was ſo great, that the king was obliged to open a port capable of containing an hundred veſſels [k], at Theodoſia *, another city of the Boſphorus. The Athenian merchants reſorted in crowds either to this place, or to Panticapæum. They were ſubject to no duties either in imports or exports; in gratitude for which the republic enrolled this prince and his children in the number of her citizens [l] †.

We found a Leſbian veſſel almoſt ready to ſail, and Cleomedes the commander agreed to take us on board. Whilſt we were waiting for her departure, I was inceſſantly in motion, and could never ſatisfy myſelf with viewing the citadel,

f Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. cap. 9.
g Id. ibid.
h Athen. lib. 6. cap. 16. p. 257.
i Strab. lib. 7. p. 311.
k Demoſth. in Lepti. p. 546. Strab. lib. 7. p. 309.
* Now called Caffa.
l Demoſth. ibid. p. 545.
† See note at the end of the volume.

the arſenal, the harbour, the veſſels, their rigging, and manner of working; I entered at random into private houſes, manufactories, and the moſt inconſiderable ſhops; I went out of the town, and my eyes were fixed on orchards, covered with fruit, and fields laden with rich harveſts. My ſenſations were lively, and my narratives full of animation. I could not complain of wanting witneſſes to my delight; I ſpoke of my pleaſure and admiration to every perſon I ſaw: I ran to Timagenes, to communicate to him every thing that ſtruck me, as if it were as novel to him as to myſelf; I aſked him whether the lake Mæotis was not the largeſt ſea, and Panticapæum the handſomeſt city, in the world.

In the courſe of my travels, and eſpecially at my ſetting out, I experienced ſimilar emotions, as often as nature or induſtry preſented to me new objects; and when they were ſuch as to elevate the ſoul, my admiration could be relieved only by tears, which it was impoſſible to withhold, or by tranſports of joy that Timagenes was unable to moderate. At length, as my ſurpriſe has diminiſhed, the delights ariſing from that ſource have vaniſhed; and I have found with pain, that we loſe in pleaſurable ſenſation what we gain in experience.

I ſhall not deſcribe the feelings with which I was agitated, when, on quitting the Cimmerian Boſphorus, the ſea called the Euxine gradually expanded itſelf to my ſight *. It is an immenſe baſon, almoſt every where ſurrounded by mountains more or leſs diſtant from the ſhore, and into which near forty rivers pour their waters, from part of Aſia and Europe [m].

Its length is ſaid [n] to be eleven thouſand and one hundred ſtadia †, its greateſt breadth three thouſand three hundred ‡. Its borders are inhabited by various nations, who differ from each other in their origin, manners, and language [o]. At in-

* See the map of the Pontus Euxinus.
[m] Strab. lib. 7. p. 298.
[n] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85.
† About 419¼ leagues.
‡ About 124½ leagues.
[o] Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8.

tervals, and chiefly on the ſouthern coaſts, we meet with Grecian cities, founded by the inhabitants of Miletus, Megara, and Athens, built for the moſt part in fertile ſituations, and well calculated for commerce. To the eaſt is Colchis, celebrated for the Argonautic expedition, ſo embelliſhed by fable, and which rendered the Greeks better acquainted with theſe remote countries.

The rivers that fall into the Euxine cover it with flakes of ice in ſevere winters [p], mitigate the ſaltneſs of its waters, and convey into it an enormous quantity of mud and vegetable ſubſtances, which attract and fatten the fiſh [q]. Tunny, turbots, and almoſt every ſpecies, reſort thither to depoſit their ſpawn, and multiply the more, as this ſea nouriſhes no voracious or deſtructive fiſh [r]. The Euxine is frequently enveloped in dark fogs, and agitated by violent tempeſts [s], and that ſeaſon is generally made choice of for its navigation when ſhipwrecks are leaſt frequent [t]. It is not deep [u], except towards the eaſtern part, where Nature has formed gulfs, the bottom of which no ſounding line has yet been able to reach [x].

Whilſt Cleomedes was informing us of theſe particulars, he had ſketched on his tablets the circuit of the Euxine. When he had finiſhed, You have, ſaid I, traced out, without perceiving it, the figure of the bow that we make uſe of in Scythia—It is preciſely of that ſhape [y].—But I ſee no outlet to this ſea. It communicates with the others, replied he, only by a longer and narrower channel than that we have juſt left.

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[p] Herodot. ap. Macrob. lib. 7. cap. 12. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 640.

[q] Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 19. t. i. p. 913. Voyag. de Chard. t. i. p. 107.

[r] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 17. t. i. p. 874. Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 15. t. i. p. 507. Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 318.

[s] Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxii. p. 639. Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 92.

[t] Voyag. de Tournefort, t. ii. let. 16

[u] Strab. lib. 1. p. 50.

[x] Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. i. p. 545. et 546.

[y] Strab. lib. 2. p. 125. Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 157. Schol. ibid.

Inſtead of ſteering directly for this ſtrait, Cleomedes, fearful of quitting the coaſt, directed his courſe to the weſtward, inclining afterwards to the ſouth. As we ſailed along the ſhore, our converſation turned on the nations that dwell on it; and we ſometimes ſaw the flocks approach the ſea, which affords them a drink equally agreeable and ſalutary [z]. We were told, that in winter, when the ſea is frozen [a], the fiſhermen of theſe diſtricts pitch their tents on its ſurface, and throw their lines through holes made in the ice [b]. At a diſtance we were ſhown the mouth of the Boryſthenes *, that of the Iſter †, and other rivers. We frequently paſſed the night on land, and ſometimes at anchor [c].

One day, Cleomedes telling us that he had formerly read the hiſtory of the expedition of the younger Cyrus: Greece then is attentive to our misfortunes, ſaid Timagenes; that circumſtance renders them at leaſt leſs bitter for thoſe whoſe fate it is to have ſurvived them. And by what hand is the picture drawn? It is, anſwered Cleomedes, by one of the generals who led back the Greeks into their country; Xenophon of Athens.—Alas! replied Timagenes, this is the firſt news I have heard of him ſince about thirty-ſeven years that fate has ſeparated me from him. Ah! how happy ſhould I have been once more to have ſeen him after ſo long an abſence! But I greatly fear that death——Take courage, ſaid Cleomedes, he is ſtill living—Bleſſed be the gods, replied Timagenes! He lives! He will receive with pleaſure the embraces of a ſoldier; of a friend, whoſe life he more than once has ſaved. The Athenians, no doubt, have loaded him with honours.—They have baniſhed him, replied Cleomedes, for appearing too much attached to the Lacedæmonians [d]!—But in his retirement, at leaſt, he attracts the attention of all

[z] Arrian. Peripl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 8.
[a] Voy. de Tournef. t. ii. p. 130.
[b] Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. i. p. 543.
* Now the Dnieper.
† The Danube.
[c] Demoſth. in Polycl. p. 1087.
[d] Diog. Laert. in Xenop. lib. 2. § 51.

Greece?—No; every eye is fixed on Epaminondas of Thebes! Epaminondas! What is his age? What is the name of his father?—He is about fifty, the ſon of Polymnis, and brother of Caphiſias [e].—It is he, cried Timagenes with emotion; it is he himſelf. I have known him from his childhood. His features are ſtill before my eyes: we were early united by the ties of blood. I was but a few years older than he; he was educated in the love of poverty, and the love of virtue. Never did youth make a more rapid progreſs in every exerciſe of body and mind. His maſters were unable to ſatisfy his inſatiable thirſt for knowledge. I well remember that we could never force him from the company of a gloomy and rigid Pythagorean, named Lyſis [f]. Epaminondas was but in his twelfth or thirteenth year when I joined the army of Cyrus; yet the preſages of a great character were frequently to be obſerved. It was not difficult to foreſee the aſcendancy he would one day acquire over other men [g]. Pardon my importunity. How has he fulfilled theſe brilliant expectations?—He has raiſed his nation, by his exploits, to the rank of the firſt ſtate in Greece, anſwered Cleomedes.—O Thebes! exclaimed Timagenes; O my country! the happy abode of my infancy! Still happier Epaminondas!——An involuntary oppreſſion hindered him from proceeding. In my turn, I cried out, Oh! how worthy is that man of being beloved, who has ſuch ſenſibility! and, throwing myſelf on his neck, My dear Timagenes, ſaid I, ſince you intereſt yourſelf ſo much in the fortune of the ſpot where you accidentally were born, what muſt be your ſentiments for the friends whom you yourſelf have choſen! He anſwered, preſſing my hand, I have often told you of that unalterable love the Greeks always retain for their country. It was with difficulty you could conceive it. Judge by my tears, whether it be profound and ſincere. And he actually ſhed tears.

[e] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 576. 579. Nep. in Epam. cap. 1.

[f] Nep. ibid. cap. 2. Plut. ibid. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[g] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.

After a few moments ſilence, he inquired by what means a revolution ſo glorious for the Thebans had been effected. You cannot expect from me, ſaid Cleomedes, a circumſtantial detail of all that has paſſed ſince your departure. I ſhall confine myſelf to the principal events, which will ſuffice to inform you of the preſent ſtate of Greece.

You cannot be ignorant, that, by the taking of Athens *, all our republics fell, in ſome meaſure, under ſubjection to the Lacedæmonians; that ſome were compelled to ſolicit, and others to accept their alliance. The ſhining qualities and illuſtrious exploits of Ageſilaus, king of Lacedæmon, ſeemed to threaten them with a long ſlavery. This great man having been called into Aſia, to the aid of the Ionians, who, from their having taken part with the younger Cyrus, had reaſon to apprehend the utmoſt vengeance of Artaxerxes, ſeveral times defeated the generals of that prince; and his views enlarging with his ſucceſſes, he had already conceived the project of carrying his arms into Perſia, and attacking the great king even on his throne [h].

Artaxerxes diverted the ſtorm, and, by ſums of money diſtributed in ſeveral of the Grecian cities, detached them from the Lacedæmonians [i]. Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and other ſtates, formed a powerful league, and aſſembling their combined forces in the fields of Coronea, in Bœotia †, they ſoon came to action with the troops of Ageſilaus, compelled by an order from Lacedæmon to interrupt the courſe of his conqueſts. Xenophon, who fought near the perſon of this prince, affirms that he never ſaw a more bloody battle [k]. The Lacedæmonians had the honour of the victory; and the Thebans that of effecting their retreat without being forced to a ſhameful flight [l].

* The year 404 before J. C.

h Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 603. Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 4.

i Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 513. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 603. Id. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 211.

† The year 393 before J. C.

k Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 625. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 659.

l Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 519. Plut. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 322.

This victory, by eſtabliſhing the power of Sparta, gave birth to new diſſenſions and new confederacies. Even among the victors, ſome were weary of their ſucceſs, others of the glory of Ageſilaus. The latter, headed by the Spartan Antalcidas, propoſed to king Artaxerxes to give peace to the Grecian nations. Their deputies aſſembled; and Teribazus, the ſatrap of Ionia, declared to them the will of his maſter, in the following terms *:

" King Artaxerxes thinks it juſt, 1ſt, That the Greek ci-
" ties of Aſia, as well as the iſles of Clazomenæ and Cyprus,
" ſhould remain united to his empire; 2dly, That the other
" Greek cities ſhould be free, except the iſles of Lemnos,
" Imbros, and Scyros, which ſhall appertain to the Atheni-
" ans. He will join his forces to thoſe of the ſtates which
" ſhall accept theſe conditions, and employ them againſt thoſe
" which ſhall refuſe to receive them [m]."

The final concluſion of a treaty, which entirely changed the political ſyſtem of Greece, was intruſted to the Lacedæmonians, who had originally conceived the idea, and regulated the articles; by the firſt of which they again brought under the yoke of the Perſians the Aſiatic Greeks, the preſervation of whoſe liberty had occaſioned the loſs of ſo much blood for near a century; and, by the ſecond, which obliged the Thebans to acknowledge the independence of the cities of Bœotia, they enfeebled perhaps the only power in a condition to oppoſe their projects [n]. Neither the Thebans nor Argives, therefore, would accede to the treaty, till they were conſtrained to it by force; the other republics received it without oppoſition, and ſome even with joy.

A few years after †, the Spartan Phœbidas paſſing with a body of troops into Bœotia, encamped in the vicinity of

* The year 387 before J. C.

[m] Xenop. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 550. lib. 6. p. 602 Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 369. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 213

[n] Xenoph. ibid. p. 551. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelop. c. 1.

† The year 382 before J. C.

Thebes [o]. The city was divided into two factions, each headed by one of the chief magiſtrates. Leontiades, the leader of the party devoted to the Lacedæmonians, perſuaded Phœbidas to take poſſeſſion of the citadel, and aſſiſted him in the enterpriſe. This was in the time of profound peace, and at the inſtant when the Thebans, devoid of fear or ſuſpicion, were celebrating the feſtival of Ceres [p]. So ſtrange an act of perfidy became ſtill more odious from the cruelties exerciſed on the citizens who were attached to the true intereſts of their country. Four hundred of theſe ſought an aſylum with the Athenians. Iſmenias, the chief of that party, had, under frivolous pretexts, been loaded with chains, and put to death.

This excited a general clamour throughout Greece. The Lacedæmonians ſhuddered with indignation, and demanded with fury whether Phœbidas had received orders to perpetrate ſuch an atrocious action [q]. Ageſilaus replied, that a general may be allowed to exceed his powers, when the welfare of the ſtate requires, and that the proceedings of Phœbidas ſhould be judged only according to this principle. Leontiades, who was then at Lacedæmon, appeaſed the minds of the citizens, by exaſperating them againſt the Thebans. It was determined to retain poſſeſſion of the citadel of Thebes, and that Phœbidas ſhould be condemned to pay a fine of an hundred thouſand drachms [r].

Thus, ſaid Timagenes, interrupting Cleomedes, Lacedæmon profited by the crime, and puniſhed the criminal [s]. But what now was the conduct of Ageſilaus? He was accuſed, replied Cleomedes, of being the ſecret author of the enterpriſe, and of the decree that completed its iniquity [t]. You had inſpired me with ſome eſteem for this prince, ſaid Ti-

[o] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. t. i. p. 556. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 1.

[p] Xenoph. ibid. p. 557. Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280.

[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 557. et 558. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 608.

[r] Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 280. Nep. in Pelopid. cap. 1.

[s] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4. p. 296.

[t] Plut. in Ageſ. p. 609.

magenes; but after ſo infamous an action——Hold, anſwered Cleomedes, know that the virtuous Xenophon has never ceaſed to admire, eſteem, and love Ageſilaus [u]. I have myſelf made ſeveral campaigns under that prince. I do not ſpeak of his military talents. You will ſee his trophies erected in ſeveral of the provinces of Greece and Aſia [x]: but thus much I can aſſure you, that he was adored by the ſoldiers [y], with whom he ſhared every difficulty and danger; that, in his Aſiatic expedition, he aſtoniſhed the barbarians by the ſimplicity of his demeanour, and the elevation of his ſentiments; that he aſtoniſhed us at all times by new proofs of diſintereſtedneſs, frugality, moderation, and benignity; that without thinking of his own greatneſs, without fearing leſt another ſhould forget it, he was of eaſy acceſs, and poſſeſſed an engaging familiarity, untainted with rancour or jealouſy [z], and was ever ready to liſten to our complaints. In a word, his manners were as auſtere as thoſe of the moſt rigid Spartan; nor was the moſt amiable Athenian ever endowed with a more cultivated and elegant underſtanding [a]. I ſhall add but one ſtroke to this eulogium. In thoſe ſplendid conqueſts which he made in Aſia, it was always his firſt care to render more ſupportable the hard fate of the priſoners, and to reſtore liberty to the ſlaves [b].

Alas! what avail all theſe good qualities, replied Timagenes, if he has tarniſhed them by giving his ſanction to the injuſtice exerciſed againſt the Thebans?—Yet he conſidered juſtice, ſaid Cleomedes, as the firſt of virtues [c]. I acknowledge that he did ſometimes violate it, and without attempting to apologize for ſuch violation, ſhall obſerve, that it was only to favour his friends, and never to diſtreſs his enemies [d]. He changed his conduct reſpecting the Thebans, either from a

[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. Id. in Ageſ.
[x] Iſocr. Archid. t. ii. p. 38.
[y] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 667.
[z] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 599.
[a] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 619. Plut. in Ageſ. p 596.
[b] Xenoph. ibid. p. 654.
[c] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 213.
[d] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 598. Id. Lacon. Apophth. p. 209.

perſuaſion that all means were lawful to humble a power which was the rival of Sparta, or that he thought proper to avail himſelf of the opportunity to revenge his perſonal injuries. He had brought all his paſſions under ſubjection except one, which maſtered him; and, fortified by the ſuppreſſion of the others, was become tyrannical, unjuſt, and incapable of pardoning an offence. This was an inordinate love of glory, a ſentiment the Thebans had more than once wounded in his perſon [c], eſpecially by diſconcerting his project of dethroning the king of Perſia.

The decree of the Lacedæmonians was the æra of their decline. The greater part of the allies abandoned them; and three or four years after *, the Thebans ſhook off an odious yoke [f]. Some intrepid citizens, in one night, in a ſingle moment, deſtroyed the partizans of tyranny; and their firſt efforts being ſeconded by the people, the Spartans evacuated the citadel. Young Pelopidas, one of the exiles, was among the principal leaders of this conſpiracy [g]. Diſtinguiſhed as he was by birth and wealth, he ſhortly became conſpicuous by actions, the ſplendour of which reflected honour on his country.

All conciliatory means were henceforward impracticable to the two nations. The hatred of the Thebans was extremely augmented from having received a ſevere injury, and that of the Lacedæmonians from having been the aggreſſors. Though the latter were engaged in ſeveral wars, they made ſome irruptions into Bœotia. Ageſilaus twice conducted thither [h] thoſe ſoldiers who had ever been accuſtomed to conquer under his command. That general being wounded in an indeciſive action; the Spartan Antalcidas, pointing to the blood ſtreaming from his wound, ſaid to him, "Behold the fruit of

[c] Xenoph. lib. 7. p. 621. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 599.
* The year 379 or 378 before J. C.
[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 566.
[g] Plut. in Pelop. p. 281. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 2.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. l. 5. p. 572. et 575. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. ad ann. 378.

" the leſſons you have given the Thebans[i]." And indeed the latter, after at firſt ſuffering their fields to be laid waſte, tried their ſtrength in ſkirmiſhes, which ſoon became frequent. Pelopidas led them daily againſt the enemy; and, notwithſtanding the impetuoſity of his character, checked them in their ſucceſſes, encouraged them in their defeats, and gradually taught them to brave thoſe Spartans, whoſe reputation they formerly had dreaded more than their valour.

As for himſelf, inſtructed by his own errors and the examples of Ageſilaus, he adopted the experience of the ableſt general of Greece, and in a ſucceeding campaign gathered the fruit of his labours and reflections.

He was in Bœotia[k], and marching towards Thebes *, when he fell in with a body of Lacedæmonians, much more numerous than the forces he had under his command, returning by the ſame road. A Theban horſeman, who had advanced before the army, and diſcovered them coming out of a defile, haſtened back to Pelopidas: " We have fallen" exclaimed he, " into the hands of the enemy."—" And why ſhould you " not ſay the enemy have fallen into ours?" replied the general. Until this time, no nation had ventured to attack the Lacedæmonians with equal, ſtill leſs with inferior forces. The conflict was bloody, and victory hung long in ſuſpenſe. The Lacedæmonians, having loſt their two generals, and the flower of their warriors, opened, without breaking their ranks, to let the enemy paſs; but Pelopidas, wiſhing to remain maſter of the field of battle, charged them a ſecond time, and at length enjoyed the pleaſure of completely defeating and diſperſing them.

This unexpected ſucceſs aſtoniſhed Lacedæmon, Athens, and all the Grecian republics, who, fatigued with the miſeries of war, reſolved to come to an amicable termination of their differences. The general aſſembly was convoked at

i Plut. in Pelopid. p. 285.
k Id. ibid.

* The year 375 before J. C.

Lacedæmon [l], where Epaminondas appeared, with the other deputies of Thebes.

He was then in his fortieth year. He had hitherto, according to the advice of the ſages, led a retired and concealed life [m]; nay, he had done ſtill better, by enabling himſelf to render it of utility to others. On coming out of his minority, he took on himſelf the completion of his education. Notwithſtanding the mediocrity of his fortune, he procured Lyſis the philoſopher to live with him [n], and deeply imbibed the ſublime ideas of virtue taught by the Pythagoreans; and that virtue which ſhone in his minuteſt actions, rendered him inacceſſible to every ſpecies of fear. At the ſame time that he was fortifying his health by running, wreſtling [o], and ſtill more by temperance, he ſtudied mankind, conſulted the moſt enlightened ſages [p], and meditated on the reſpective duties of the general and magiſtrate. In his public harangues, he did not diſdain the ornaments of art [q]; but the eloquence of great ſouls was always their predominant embelliſhment. His talents, which have placed him in the foremoſt rank of orators, ſhone forth for the firſt time at the conference of Lacedæmon, the operations of which were guided by Ageſilaus.

The rights and intereſts of the different republics were there diſcuſſed by their reſpective deputies. I accidentally obtained a ſight of the harangues of the three ambaſſadors from Athens. The firſt was one of the prieſts of Ceres, elated with his birth, and proud of the encomiums he received or beſtowed upon himſelf [r]. He enumerated the important commiſſions the Athenians had intruſted to his family; talked of the benefits the ſtates of Peloponneſus had received from the deities whoſe miniſter he was, and concluded by obſerving, that war could

[l] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 590.
[m] Plut. de Occult. Vivend. t. ii. p. 1129.
[n] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 585. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 356. Id. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 246. Cicer. de Off. lib. 1. cap. 44. t. iii. p. 223.
[o] Nep. in Epam. cap. 2.
[p] Id. cap. 3.
[q] Id. cap. 5.
[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. lib. 6. p. 590.

not begin too late nor terminate too ſpeedily. Calliſtratus, a celebrated orator, inſtead of defending the general intereſt of Greece, had the indiſcretion to inſinuate, in preſence of all the allies, that the partial union of Athens and Lacedæmon would ſecure to thoſe two powers the ſovereignty both of the ſea and land. Autocles, the third deputy, boldly expatiated on the repeated injuſtice of the Lacedæmonians, who were perpetually ſummoning the nations to receive liberty, while they in reality held them in bondage, under the idle pretext of being guarantees to the treaty of Antalcidas.

I have already ſaid that, by this treaty, all the Grecian cities ſhould be free: but the Lacedæmonians, whilſt they kept the cities of Laconia in dependence, haughtily required that thoſe of Bœotia ſhould no longer be ſubject to the Thebans [s]. As they were launching out into bitter complaints againſt the latter, and no longer expreſſing themſelves with their cuſtomary preciſion, Epaminondas, wearied with their prolix invectives, ſaid to them one day: "You will at leaſt "allow that we have made you lengthen your monoſyllables [t]." The diſcourſe he then pronounced, made ſo powerful an impreſſion on the deputies, as to alarm Ageſilaus. The Theban forcibly inſiſted on the neceſſity of a treaty founded on juſtice and on reaſon: "And does it appear to you juſt and reaſonable," ſaid Ageſilaus, "to grant independence to the cities of Bœo-"tia?"—"And do you," replied Epaminondas, "think it "reaſonable and juſt to acknowledge the independence of "thoſe of Laconia?"—"explain yourſelf roundly," ſaid Ageſilaus inflamed with paſſion; "I aſk you whether the "cities of Bœotia ſhall be free?"—"And I," anſwered Epaminondas ſternly, "demand of you, whether thoſe of Laconia "ſhall be ſo?"—On theſe words, Ageſilaus effaced the name of the Thebans from the treaty, and the aſſembly ſeparated [u].

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[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p 366.
[t] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p 545.
Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 193.
[u] Id. in Ageſ. t. i. p 611.

Such, it is pretended, was the iſſue of this famous conference. Some indeed relate it differently, and more to the advantage of Ageſilaus [x]. Be that as it may, the principal articles of the decree of the aſſembly expreſſed that the troops ſhould be diſbanded, all the ſtates enjoy their liberties, and that each of the confederate powers ſhould be permitted to ſuccour the oppreſſed cities [y].

There was yet time for negotiation, but the Lacedæmonians, hurried on to their ruin by a ſpirit of infatuation *, gave orders to their king Cleombrotus, who commanded the allied army in Phocis, to march into Bœotia. This army conſiſted of ten thouſand foot ſoldiers, and one thouſand horſe [z]. The Thebans could only oppoſe to theſe forces ſix thouſand infantry [b], and a ſmall body of cavalry; but Epaminondas was at their head, and had under him Pelopidas.

It was aſſerted that ſiniſter omens had been obſerved; he anſwered, that the beſt of preſages was to defend our country [c]. Favourable oracles were likewiſe reported; and on theſe he appeared to rely with ſuch confidence as to be ſuſpected of being their author [d]. His troops had deeply imbibed his own ſpirit. The cavalry of the enemy, picked up as it were by chance, had neither experience nor emulation [e]. The allied cities had conſented to this expedition with the greateſt reluctance, and it was with regret the ſoldiers began their march. The king of Lacedæmon was no ſtranger to this diſcouragement; but he had enemies, and riſked every thing rather than furniſh their hatred with new pretexts [f].

The two armies met near a ſmall town in Bœotia called Leuctra. On the evening before the battle, whilſt Epaminondas was making his diſpoſitions, and anxious about an

[x] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 593.
[y] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 355.
[z] Xenoph. ibid. p. 594.
[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 288.
[b] Diod. ibid. p. 367.
[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Xenoph. ibid. p. 595. Diod. ibid. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 8.
[e] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 596.
[f] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 24. t. iii. p. 201.

event which was to decide the fate of his country, he learnt that an officer of diſtinction had juſt expired quietly in his tent: "Ye Gods!" cried he, "how is it poſſible to find time to die in ſuch a ſituation [g]!"

The next day * was fought that battle, rendered for ever memorable by the great abilities diſplayed by the Theban general. Cleombrotus was poſted on the right of his army with the Lacedæmonian phalanx [h], protected by his cavalry which formed the front line. Epaminondas, certain of the victory if he could break this formidable wing, reſolved to refuſe his right to the enemy, and to attack with his left. He filed off thither his beſt troops, drew them up fifty deep, and placed his cavalry likewiſe in the front. Cleombrotus obſerving this, changed his firſt diſpoſition; but inſtead of giving his wing more depth, he extended it to outflank Epaminondas. During this movement, the Theban cavalry poured on that of the Lacedæmonians, and drove them back on their phalanx, which was only twelve deep. Pelopidas, who commanded the ſacred battalion †, took it in flank, and Epaminondas fell upon it with all the weight of his column. The phalanx ſuſtained the ſhock with a courage worthy of a better cauſe, and a happier ſucceſs. Prodigies of valour could not ſave Cleombrotus. The warriors around him ſacrificed their lives either in defence of his, or to reſcue his body, which the Thebans had not the honour to carry off the field.

After his death, the Peloponneſian army retired to their camp, ſituated on an adjoining eminence. Some Lacedæmonians propoſed to renew the battle [i]; but their generals, terrified at the loſs that Sparta had juſt ſuſtained, and not knowing how to confide in allies who were more pleaſed than

[g] Plut. de San. Tuend. t. ii. p. 136.

* The 8th of July of the Julian proleptic year, 371 before J. C.

[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Diod. lib. 15. p. 370. Plut. in Pelopid. p. 289. Arrian. Tactic. p. 32. Folard. Traité de la Colon. cap. 10. in the firſt volume of the Tranſlation of Polybius, p. 57.

† This was a band of three hundred young Thebans, renowned for their valour.

[i] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 597.

afflicted at her humiliation, ſuffered the Thebans peaceably to raiſe a trophy on the field of battle. The loſs of the latter was inconſiderable; that of the enemy amounted to four thouſand men, among whom were a thouſand Lacedæmonians. Of ſeven hundred Spartans, four hundred loſt their lives [k].

The firſt intelligence of this victory excited in Athens only an indecent jealouſy of the Thebans. At Sparta it awakened thoſe extraordinary ſentiments which the laws of Lycurgus imprint in every heart. The people were attending at ſolemn games, where men of all ages diſputed the prize of wreſtling, and other gymnaſtic exerciſes. On the arrival of the meſſenger, the magiſtrates foreſaw that the fate of Lacedæmon was decided; and, without interrupting the exhibition, ſent to inform each family of the loſs they had ſuſtained, exhorting mothers and wives to ſupport their grief in ſilence. The next day, the relations of the ſlain were ſeen, with joy painted on their countenances, thronging to the temples and the forum, to thank the gods, and mutually to congratulate each other, on having given ſuch brave citizens to the ſtate. The others dared not to expoſe themſelves to the public eye, or appeared only with the emblems of ſorrow and of mourning. The painful ſenſation of ſhame, and the love of their country, were ſo prevalent among the greater number, that huſbands could not bear to be looked on by their wives, and mothers trembled for the return of their ſons [m].

The Thebans were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that the philoſopher Antiſthenes ſaid: "Methinks I ſee a number of "ſcholars proud of having beaten their maſter [n]!" On the other hand, the Lacedæmonians, unwilling to confeſs their defeat, required that the matter in diſpute ſhould be referred by both nations to the Acheans [o].

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[k] Id. ibid. Diod. lib. 15. p. 371.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 598.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 597. Plut. in Ageſil. t. i. p. 612.
[n] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 59.
[o] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 127.

Two years after [p], Epaminondas and Pelopidas were named Bœotarchs, or chiefs of the Bœotian league *. The concurrence of circumſtances, mutual eſteem, friendſhip, and a uniformity of views and ſentiments, formed an indiſſoluble union between theſe two great men. The one undoubtedly poſſeſſed more virtues and talents, but the other almoſt raiſed himſelf to a level with him by acknowledging his ſuperiority. With this faithful companion of his labours and his glory, Epaminondas entered Peloponneſus, ſpreading terror and deſolation through the ſtates in alliance with Lacedæmon [q], haſtening the defection of others, and breaking the yoke under which the Meſſenians had groaned for centuries. Seventy thouſand men, of different nations, marched under his orders with an equal confidence [r]. He led them to Lacedæmon, reſolved to attack her inhabitants even at their very doors, and to erect a trophy in the middle of the city.

Sparta has neither walls nor citadel [s], but Ageſilaus took care to line with troops ſeveral riſing grounds within its precincts, and placed his army on the declivity of the higheſt of theſe eminences. From hence was it that he diſcovered Epaminondas approaching at the head of his army, and making his diſpoſitions to paſs the Eurotas, ſwelled by the melting of the ſnow. After long following him with his eyes, he only ſuffered theſe words to eſcape him: "What a man! What a "prodigy [t]!"

Meanwhile this prince was agitated by the moſt cruel anxiety. Without, was a formidable army; within, a ſmall body of ſoldiers, who no longer believed themſelves invincible, and a great number of factious citizens who took every kind of licence. To theſe were added the murmurs and

[p] Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 279.
* The year 369 before J. C.
[q] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 607. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 8.
[r] Plut. in Pelop. p. 290.; in Ageſ. p. 613. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 375. et 390.
[s] Xenoph. ibid. p. 608. Id. in Ageſ. p. 662. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 38. et lib. 39. cap. 37. Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 6. Juſtin. lib. 14. cap. 5.
[t] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 613.

complaints of the inhabitants, who ſaw their poſſeſſions ravaged, and their lives in danger; the general outcry, which accuſed him of being the author of the miſeries of all Greece; and the painful recollection of a reign once ſo ſplendid, and diſhonoured towards its cloſe by a ſpectacle no leſs novel than tremendous: for, during ſeveral centuries paſt, the enemy had ſcarcely ventured on a few haſty incurſions, on the frontiers of Laconia [u]; and never had the Spartan women beheld the ſmoke of their camp.

Notwithſtanding theſe juſt ſubjects of alarm, Ageſilaus exhibited a ſerene countenance, and deſpiſed the inſults of his enemies, who, to force him to relinquiſh his poſition, alternately reproached him with cowardice, and laid waſte the adjacent country in his ſight. Whilſt this was tranſacting, about two hundred conſpirators having gained poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, difficult to force, it was propoſed to him to march a body of troops againſt them; but Ageſilaus rejected this advice, and preſenting himſelf to the rebels, followed by a ſingle attendant, "You have miſtaken my orders," ſaid he to them; "it was not hither you ſhould "have repaired, but to ſuch and ſuch a place;" pointing, at the ſame time, to thoſe in which it was his intention to diſperſe them. They inſtantly obeyed, and proceeded without heſitation to the different ſtations he aſſigned them [v].

Meanwhile, Epaminondas deſpaired of drawing the Lacedæmonians into the plain. The winter was far advanced. Already the inhabitants of Arcadia, of Argos, and of Elea, had abandoned the ſiege. The Thebans were ſuffering daily loſſes, and began to want proviſions. The Athenians and other ſtates were making levies in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Theſe reaſons induced Epaminondas to retreat. He ſpread devaſtation through the reſt of Laconia; and, after

[u] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap 25. l. 4. cap. 41; lib. 5. cap. 14. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

[x] Iſoc. in Archid. t. ii. p. 30. Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. ap. Orat. Græc. p. 99. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 377. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13 cap. 42. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 613.

[y] Plut. in Ageſ p. 614.

avoiding the army of the Athenians, commanded by Iphicrates, led back his own, without interruption, into Bœotia [z].

The chiefs of the Bœotian league hold their office only for a year, at the expiration of which they ſhould reſign the command to their ſucceſſors. Epaminondas and Pelopidas had retained their authority four months longer than the term preſcribed by law [a]. For this they were accuſed, and judicially proſecuted. The latter defended himſelf without dignity, and had recourſe to ſupplications; but Epaminondas appeared before his judges with the ſame tranquillity as at the head of his army; and thus addreſſed them: "The law "condemns me; I merit death [b]. I only demand that this "inſcription be engraven on my tomb: The Thebans have "put Epaminondas to death, becauſe at Leuctra he forced "them to attack and vanquiſh thoſe Lacedæmonians, whom "they did not before dare to look in the face; becauſe his "victory ſaved his country, and reſtored liberty to Greece; be-"cauſe, under his command, the Thebans beſieged Lacedæ-"mon, which deemed herſelf too fortunate to eſcape from "ruin; and becauſe he rebuilt Meſſena, and ſurrounded it "with ſtrong walls [c]!" All preſent applauded this ſpeech of Epaminondas, and the judges did not dare to condemn him.

Envy, which receives new animation from the failure of its projects, believed the opportunity to humble him was now arrived. In the diſtribution of public offices, the conqueror of Leuctra was appointed to ſuperintend the cleanlineſs of the ſtreets, and the maintenance of the common ſewers of the city. He gave dignity to this employment, and ſhowed, as he himſelf had ſaid, that we ſhould not judge of men by their places, but of places by thoſe who fill them [d].

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[z] Xenoph. lib. 6. p. 612.

[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p 290. Nep. in Epam. cap. 7.

[b] Plut. de Sui Laude, t. ii. p. 540.

[c] Nep. in Epam. cap. 8. Ælian. lib. 13. cap. 42.

[d] Plut. de Præcept. Reip. t. ii. p. 813.

During the ſix years which have ſince elapſed, we have more than once ſeen Epaminondas render the Theban arms reſpected in Peloponneſus, and Pelopidas exhibit them triumphant in Theſſalia [e]. We have ſeen the latter choſen arbitrator between two brothers, competitors for the throne of Macedon; and, after having terminated their differences, and reſtored peace to that diſtracted kingdom [f], paſs to the court of Suſa [g], where, preceded by his fame, he received the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, entirely * diſconcerted the meaſures of the ambaſſadors of Athens and Lacedæmon, who were ſoliciting the alliance of the king of Perſia, and obtained for his country a treaty of ſtrict union with that prince.

He laſt year † headed an expedition againſt a tyrant of Theſſaly, named Alexander, and fell in battle while purſuing the enemy, whom he had reduced to a ſhameful flight [h]. Thebes and the allied powers wept his death: Thebes has loſt one of her ableſt ſupporters; but Epaminondas ſtill lives. He projects to give the fatal blow to Lacedæmon. All the Grecian republics are dividing, forming leagues, and making immenſe preparations. It is ſaid that the Athenians will join the Lacedæmonians; but that this union will not deter Epaminondas. The next ſpring will decide this mighty quarrel.—— Such was the recital of Cleomedes.

After ſeveral days favourable navigation, we arrived at the Thracian Boſphorus, the name given to the channel of which Cleomedes had ſpoken. Its entrance is dangerous; contrary winds often drive veſſels on the neighbouring coaſts [i], where navigators are condemned either to death or ſlavery; for the inhabitants of that country are real barbarians, ſince they are cruel [k].

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[e] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 616. et 624. Plut in Pelopid. p. 291. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 280. 283.

[f] Plut. ibid.

[g] Xenoph. lib. 7. p. 620. Plut. ib. p. 294.

* The year 367 before J. C. Dodwell, Annal.

† The year 364 before J. C.

[h] Plut. in Pelop. p. 296. Nep. in Pelop. cap. 5. Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 286.

[i] Voy. de Chard. t. i. p. 100.

[k] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 380 et 412.

On entering the channel *, the crew addreſſed repeating thankſgivings to Jupiter, ſurnamed Urius, whoſe temples we had ſeen on our left on the Aſiatic coaſt, and who had preſerved us from the danger of ſo tempeſtuous a ſea [l]. In the mean time, I obſerved to Timagenes, that the Euxine ſea receives, as it is ſaid, near forty rivers, ſome of them very conſiderable, which cannot all eſcape by ſo inadequate an outlet [m]. What then, ſaid I, becomes of that prodigious quantity of water which falls day and night into this vaſt reſervoir?—You ſee part of it flow through the ſtrait, anſwered he. The remainder is raiſed in vapour, by the rays of the ſun; for the waters of this ſea being freſher, and conſequently lighter, than thoſe of other ſeas, more eaſily evaporate [n]. And how can we be certain but that thoſe abyſſes of which we heard Cleomedes ſpeak, may abſorb part of the waters of the Euxine, and convey them to diſtant ſeas by ſubterraneous paſſages under the continent?

The Thracian Boſphorus divides Europe from Aſia. Its length, from the temple of Jupiter to the city of Eyzantium, where it terminates, is one hundred and twenty ſtadia [o] †; its breadth is various; at the entrance it is four ſtadia [p] ‡, at the other extremity fourteen ‖; and in certain places its waters form large baſons and deep bays [q].

On each ſide, the country riſes in an amphitheatre, and preſents the moſt agreeable and highly diverſified points of view; hills clothed with wood, and fertile valleys, form, at intervals, a ſtriking contraſt with the rocks, which ſuddenly change the direction of the channel [r].

* See the map of the Thracian Boſphorus.

l Chiſhull. Antiq. Aſiat. p. 61.

m Voy. de Tournefort, t. ii. p. 123.

n Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 552.

o Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 307 et 311. Arrian. Peripl. p. 12. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i.

† 4 leagues 1340 toiſes (2861 yards).

p Herodot. ibid. Strab. lib. 2. p. 125.

‡ 805 yards.

‖ 2825 yards. The ancients differ amongſt themſelves, and ſtill more the moderns, reſpecting theſe meaſures, as well as reſpecting thoſe of the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Helleſpont. I have generally adhered to thoſe of Herodotus, as the beſt known at the time of this voyage.

q Voy. de Tournef. t. ii. p. 156.

r Id. ibid. p. 125.

On the higheſt of theſe eminences are diſcovered monuments of the piety of the people; on the ſhore, delightful houſes, tranquil harbours, cities and towns enriched by commerce, and ſtreams pouring forth the tribute of their waters. Theſe proſpects are animated, in certain ſeaſons, by numberleſs boats employed in the fiſhery, and veſſels under ſail for the Euxine, or returning laden with its produce.

Towards the middle of the channel, we were ſhown the place where Darius, king of Perſia, paſſed ſeven hundred thouſand men he was leading againſt the Scythians, over a bridge of boats. The ſtrait, which is only five ſtadia in breadth *, is there narrowed by a promontory, on which ſtands a temple of Mercury [s]. At this ſpot, two men placed, the one in Europe, the other in Aſia, may eaſily make themſelves heard by each other [t]. Soon after, we came in ſight of the citadel and walls of Byzantium, and entered the port, after leaving on the left the little city of Chryſopolis, and diſcovering, on the ſame ſide, that of Chalcedon.

CHAP. II.

Deſcription of Byzantium.—Voyage from that City to Leſbos.—The Straits of the Helleſpont.—Greek Colonies.

BYZANTIUM, anciently founded by the Megareans [u], and ſucceſſively rebuilt by the Mileſians [x], and other nations of Greece [y], is ſituated on a promontory nearly of a triangular form. Never was there a happier or more majeſtic ſituation. The eye, while glancing over the horizon, repoſes to the right, on the ſea called the Propontis; oppoſite, and beyond a nar-

* 1008 yards.

[s] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 311. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 24.

[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii, p. 635.

[u] Steph. in Βυζάν. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 804.

[x] Vell. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 15.

[y] Amm Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 8. p. 308. Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 1.

row channel, on the cities of Chalcedon and Chryſopolis; then on the ſtrait of the Boſphorus; and laſtly, on fertile eminences, and a gulf which ſerves by way of harbour, and retreats to the depth of ſixty ſtadia [z] within the land *.

On the point of the promontory ſtands the citadel. The walls of the city are built of huge ſquare ſtones, ſo jointed as apparently to form only a ſingle block [a]; they are much loftier on the land ſide than towards the water, being naturally defended by the waves, and in ſome places by the rocks they are built on, which project into the ſea [b].

In this city, beſides a gymnaſium [c], and ſeveral kinds of public edifices, we meet with all the conveniences a rich and numerous people are able to procure [d]. They aſſemble in a forum, ſpacious enough to contain a ſmall army ranged in order of battle [e]. There they confirm or reject the decrees of a ſenate more enlightened than themſelves [f]. This abſurdity has ſtruck me in ſeveral of the Grecian cities, and has often made me recollect the ſaying of Anacharſis to Solon: "With "you, it is the ſages who diſcuſs, and the ignorant who de-"cide [g]."

The territory of Byzantium produces an abundance of grain and fruits [h], but is expoſed to the too frequent incurſions of the Thracians, who inhabit the adjoining villages [i]. A ſurpriſing quantity of fiſh is caught in the harbour itſelf [k], in autumn, when they deſcend from the Euxine into the lower ſeas; and, in ſpring, in their return to the Pontus [l]. This

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[z] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320.

* 2¼ leagues.

[a] Diod. Hiſt. Rom. lib. 74. p. 1251. Herodian. lib. 3 in init.

[b] Dio. ibid. Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 395.

[c] Ariſt. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502.

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 190.

[e] Xenoph. ibid. Zozim. lib. 2. p. 687.

[f] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 487.

[g] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 81.

[h] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 313. Herodian. lib. 3. in init. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 63.

[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. p. 398. Polyb. ibid.

[k] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 116. Pet. Gill. Præf. ad Urb. Deſcrip.

[l] Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 6. cap. 17. t. i. p. 874; lib. 8. cap. 19. t. i. p. 913. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 15. t. i. p. 507. Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 63.

fiſhery, and the curing of the fiſh, produce great ſums to the revenues of the city [m], which is crowded likewiſe with merchants, and ſupported by an active and flouriſhing commerce. Its port, ſheltered on every ſide from tempeſts, attracts thither the veſſels of all the Grecian nations; and its ſituation at the head of the ſtrait enables it to ſtop or ſubject to heavy duties the foreign merchants who trade in the Euxine [n], and to famiſh the nations who draw from it their ſubſiſtence. Hence, the conſtant endeavours of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to engage this city in their intereſts. Byzantium was now in alliance with the former [o].

Cleomedes had taken in ſalt proviſions at Panticapæum [p]; but as thoſe of Byzantium are in higher eſtimation [q], he there completed his ſtock; and, after finiſhing his affairs, we left the harbour, and entered the Propontis. The breadth of this ſea [r] is ſaid to be five hundred ſtadia *, and its length fourteen hundred †. On its ſhores ſtand ſeveral celebrated cities, founded or conquered by the Greeks; on the one ſide, Selymbria, Perinthus, and Byzanthus; on the other, Aſtacus in Bithynia, and Cyſicus in Myſia.

The ſeas we had viſited preſented on their coaſts ſeveral ſettlements formed by the nations of Greece. I was to meet with others in the Helleſpont, and doubtleſs alſo in ſtill more diſtant ſeas. What were the motives of theſe emigrations? Whither were they directed? Have the colonies preſerved any connections with the mother countries? Cleomedes laid before me ſeveral maps, and Timagenes loſt no time in anſwering my queſtions.

Greece, ſaid he, is a peninſula bounded on the weſt by the Ionian, and on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea. It compriſes at

[m] Ariſt. de Cur. Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 502.
[n] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 549. Ib. in Polycl. p. 1084. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 542.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412.
[p] Demoſth. in Lacr. p. 953.
[q] Athen. lib. 3. p. 117 et 120.
[r] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 86.
* Near 19 leagues.
† Near 53 leagues.

preſent Peloponneſus, Attica, Phocis, Bœotia, Theſſaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, part of Epirus, and ſome other ſmall provinces. There, among other flouriſhing cities, we diſtinguiſh Lacedæmon, Corinth, Athens, and Thebes.

This country is of a very moderate extent *, generally ſterile, and almoſt every where mountainous. The ſavages, who were its ancient inhabitants, aſſembled together from neceſſity, and at length ſpread themſelves over different diſtricts. Let us take a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of our poſſeſſions.

To the weſt, we occupy the neighbouring iſlands, as Zacynthus, Cephalenia, and Corcyra: we have even ſome ſettlements on the coaſts of Illyria. Further on, we have formed numerous and powerful ſtates on the coaſts of the ſouthern part of Italy, and in almoſt all Sicily. Still farther, you will find, in the country of the Gauls, Marſeilles, founded by the Phocians, the mother of ſeveral colonies eſtabliſhed on the adjacent coaſts; Marſeilles, who may pride herſelf in having inſtituted ſage laws, conquered the Carthaginians [s], and made the ſciences and arts of Greece flouriſh in a barbarous country.

In Africa, the opulent city of Cyrene, the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, and Naucratis ſituated on one of the mouths of the Nile, are under our dominion.

Returning towards the north, you will find us in poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole iſland of Cyprus, the iſles of Rhodes and Crete, thoſe of the Ægean ſea, great part of the coaſts of Aſia oppoſite to thoſe iſlands, the iſles of the Helleſpont, and ſeveral diſtricts on the ſhores of the Propontis and the Euxine.

As a natural conſequence of their ſituation, the Athenian colonies directed their courſe towards the eaſt, as thoſe of Peloponneſus did towards the weſt of Greece [t]. The inhabi-

* About 1900 ſquare leagues.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 13.

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 12.

tants of Ionia and ſeveral iſlands of the Ægean ſea are of Athenian origin. Many cities were founded by the Corinthians in Sicily, and by the Lacedæmonians in Græcia Magna.

The exceſs of population in a diſtrict, the ambition of the chiefs [u], the love of liberty among the private citizens, contagious and frequent maladies, falſe predictions of the oracles, and raſh vows, gave riſe to many of theſe emigrations; thoſe of a more recent date originated in commercial and political views. All theſe motives have contributed to add new countries to Greece, and introduced the laws of nature and of ſentiment into the public code [x].

The ties by which children are bound to thoſe who gave them birth, ſtill ſubſiſt between the colonies and the cities that founded them [y]. Conſidered in their various relations, they aſſume the endearing and reſpectable names of daughter, ſiſter, and mother, and their reciprocal alliances ariſe from theſe reſpective titles [z].

It is the natural duty of the mother country to protect her colonies, which, on their ſide, think themſelves called upon to fly to her ſuccour whenever ſhe is attacked. From her it is that they frequently receive their prieſts, their magiſtrates [a], and generals; they adopt or retain her laws and cuſtoms, and the worſhip of her gods, and ſend annually to her temples the firſt fruits of their harveſts. Her citizens, when among them, receive the firſt portion in the diſtribution of the victims, and are honoured with the moſt diſtinguiſhed places at the public games and aſſemblies of the people [b].

Nor do ſo many prerogatives granted to the mother city, render her authority odious. The colonies are as free in their dependence, as children in the homage they pay to parents worthy of their affection. Such at leaſt is the ſpirit which

[u] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 42.
[x] Bougainv. Diſſert. ſur les Metr. et les Col. p. 18. Spanh. de Præſt. Num. p. 580. Ste. Croix, de l'Etat des Colonies des anciens Peuples, p. 65.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 754.
[z] Spanh. ibid. p. 575.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 56.
[b] Spanh. de Præſt. Num. p. 580. Bougainv. ibid. p. 36.

ſhould animate the greater part of the cities of Greece, and induce them to conſider Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, as the mothers or ſources of three numerous families diſperſed over three different quarters of the world. But the ſame cauſes that extinguiſh the ſentiments of nature among individuals, produce daily diſſenſions in theſe families of cities; and the real or apparent violation of their mutual duties has but too often furniſhed the pretext, or motive, of thoſe wars which have convulſed Greece [c].

The laws I have mentioned are obligatory only on ſuch colonies as have emigrated by order, or with the permiſſion of the mother country; the others and eſpecially thoſe in a remote ſituation, confine themſelves to an affectionate remembrance of the places whence they derived their origin. Generally ſpeaking, the former are no more than uſeful or neceſſary marts for the commerce of the mother country; and the coloniſts eſteem themſelves ſufficiently fortunate, when the native inhabitants whom they have driven back into the country, ſuffer them to remain quiet, or conſent to barter with them for their merchandize. Here, for example, the Greeks are ſettled on the ſea coaſts: beyond them, on the right, they poſſeſs the fertile plains of Thrace, and on the left the confines of the vaſt empire of the Perſians, inhabited by the Bithynians and Myſians. The poſſeſſions of the latter extend along the Helleſpont, which we are now about to enter *.

This was the third ſtrait I had met with in my voyage from Scythia. It is four hundred ſtadia [d] † in length, and we ſoon paſſed through it. The wind was favourable and the current rapid. The banks of this river, for ſo we may call this arm of the ſea, are interſected by riſing grounds, and covered with towns and villages. On one ſide we diſcovered the city of Lampſacus, whoſe territory is celebrated for its

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 754.
* See map of the Helleſpont.
[d] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85.
† 13¾ leagues.

vineyards [e]; on the other, the mouth of a ſmall river called Ægos-Potamos, where Lyſander gained the celebrated victory that terminated the Peloponneſian war. Further on, are the cities of Seſtos and Abydos, almoſt oppoſite to each other. Near the former, ſtands the tower of Hero [f]. At this place, as I was informed, one of the young prieſteſſes of Venus threw herſelf into the waves, which had ſwallowed up her lover Leander, who to viſit her was obliged to ſwim over the channel [g].

Here I was told that the ſtrait was only ſeven ſtadia in breadth [h]. Xerxes croſſed the ſea at this place over a double bridge of boats, at the head of the moſt formidable army that had ever invaded a country, and ſoon after repaſſed it in a fiſherman's boat. On this ſide is the tomb of Hecuba, on the other that of Ajax; here the harbour whence the fleet of Agamemnon ſet ſail for Aſia, and there the coaſts of the kingdom of Priam.

We were now at the extremity of the ſtrait. Full of Homer, and animated by all his poetic paſſions, I eagerly entreated to be ſet on ſhore. I leaped on the land, and beheld Vulcan darting whirlwinds of fire on the foaming waves of the Scamander raging againſt Achilles. I approached the gates of the city, and my heart was rent with the tender parting of Andromache and Hector. I ſaw Paris adjudge the prize of beauty, on Mount Ida, to the mother of Love. I beheld Juno arrive there; the earth ſmiled at her preſence, and flowers ſprang up beneath her ſteps. She wore the girdle of Venus, and never had ſhe a juſter claim to the title of queen of the gods.

So pleaſing an illuſion was but of ſhort duration, and I was unable to diſcover the places immortaliſed by the poems of Homer. Not a veſtige of the city of Troy is now remaining; even her ruins have diſappeared [i]. Earthquakes and

[e] Strab. lib. 13. p. 589.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 591.
[g] Mela, lib. 1. cap. 19; lib. 2 cap. 2. Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 258. Ovid. Amor. lib. 2. eleg. 16. v. 31.
[h] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 85.
[i] Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 9. v. 969.

accumulations of ſoil have changed the whole face of this country [k].

I returned to the veſſel, and my heart beat with joy on learning that we were near the end of our voyage, being now in the Ægean ſea, and that the next day we ſhould be at Mytilene, one of the principal cities of Leſbos.

We left the iſles of Imbros, Samothrace, and Thaſos on the right: the latter of theſe is famous for its gold mines [l], and the ſecond celebrated for its ſacred myſteries. Towards the evening we perceived, in the quarter of Lemnos which we had diſcovered to the weſtward, volumes of flame riſing up at intervals into the air. I was told that theſe proceeded from the ſummit of a mountain [m], that the iſland was full of ſubterraneous fires, that ſeveral ſprings of hot water were found there [n], and that the ancient Greeks did not attribute theſe phenomena to natural cauſes. Vulcan, ſaid they, has ſet up one of his furnaces in Lemnos, where the Cyclops are employed in forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter. The people imagine the noiſe that ſometimes accompanies the eruption of the flames, to be occaſioned by the ſtrokes of the hammer.

About the middle of the night we coaſted along the iſle of Tenedos, and at day-break entered the channel that ſeparates Leſbos from the neighbouring continent [o]. Soon after we arrived oppoſite to Mytilene, and ſaw a proceſſion in the country ſlowly advancing towards a temple which we diſcovered in the back ground. This was the temple of Apollo, whoſe feſtival they were celebrating [p]. Sonorous voices made the air re-echo with their ſongs. The day was ſerene, and a gentle zephyr playing in our ſails. Delighted with this ſcene, I did not obſerve that we were in the harbour. Cleomedes

[k] Herodot. lib 2. cap. 10. Strab. lib. 1 p. 58. Wood, Eſſay on the Orig. &c. p. 208.

[l] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 46.

[m] Boch. Georg. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 399.

[n] Euſt. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 157.

[o] Voy de Tournef. t. i. p. 392.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 3.

found his friends and relations on the ſhore, who received him with tranſports of joy. With them were aſſembled a multitude of ſailors and workmen, who all fixed their eyes on me, demanding with a turbulent curioſity who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going. We took up our lodgings with Cleomedes, who undertook to procure us a conveyance to the continent of Greece.

CHAP. III.

Deſcription of Leſbos—Pittacus—Alcæus—Sappho.

NOTWITHSTANDING the impatience of Timagenes to reviſit his native country, we waited near a month for the departure of a veſſel to convey us to Chalcis, the capital of Eubœa. This interval I employed in obtaining information reſpecting every intereſting object of the country.

Leſbos is eſtimated to be eleven hundred ſtadia [q] in circumference *. The iſland, eſpecially in the eaſtern and weſtern parts, is interſected by chains of mountains and riſing grounds; ſome covered with vines, others with beech, cypreſs, and pine-trees [r]. Many of the hills abound with an ordinary and little eſteemed marble [s]. The intermediate plains produce a great quantity of corn [t]. In ſeveral places we meet with hot ſprings [u], agates, and different kinds of precious ſtones [x], and almoſt every where with the myrtle, olive, and fig-tree; but the principal riches of the inhabitants conſiſt in their wines, which in many countries are preferred to thoſe of Greece [y].

[q] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.

* Above 41 leagues.

[r] Bened. Bondone Iſolario, lib. 2. p. 58. Porcachi Iſole piu famoſ. lib. 2. p. 28 Rich. Pocock. Deſcription of the Eaſt, t. ii. part ii. p. 16.

[s] Plin lib. 36. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 731.

[t] Pocock. Deſcription of the Eaſt, t. ii. p. 20.

[u] Id. ibid.

[x] Plin. lib. 37. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 787. et 792.

[y] Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 28. Archeſt. ap. eund. lib. 1. cap 23. p. 29. Id. lib. 3. p. 92. Plin. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 717. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 31.

Nature has formed bays along the coaſt, around which cities have ariſen which are now fortified by art, and rendered flouriſhing by commerce. Such are Mytilene, Pyrrha, Methymna, Ariſba, Ereſſus, and Antiſſa [z], whoſe whole hiſtory is a continued ſeries of revolutions. After alternately experiencing the bleſſings of liberty, and the wretchedneſs of ſervitude, they ſhook off the Perſian yoke in the time of Xerxes, and more than once detached themſelves from the alliance of the Athenians during the Peloponneſian war [a], though they have been conſtantly compelled to return to it, and remain at this day members of that union. One of theſe defections was attended with conſequences as fatal, as the cauſe from which it proceeded was trivial.

One of the chief citizens of Mytilene, failing in his attempt to obtain two wealthy heireſſes for his ſons, contrived to ſow diſſenſion among the inhabitants of the city, accuſed them of an intention to join the Lacedæmonians, and was ſo ſucceſsful in his intrigues as to induce Athens to ſend a fleet to Leſbos to prevent and puniſh the defection [b]. In vain did all the adjoining cities, except Methymna, take up arms in defence of their ally. They were ſoon reduced by the Athenians, who took Mytilene, razed her walls, ſeized on her ſhips, and put to death the principal inhabitants, to the number of one thouſand [c]. The territory of Methymna alone was ſpared; the remainder of the iſland was divided into three thouſand portions, three hundred of which were conſecrated to the worſhip of the gods, and the others drawn for by lot by the Athenians, who, unable themſelves to cultivate them, farmed them out to the ancient proprietors, at two minæ each portion; which brought in an annual revenue of ninety talents * for the new poſſeſſors.

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[z] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 151. Strab. lib. 13. p. 618.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 2.
[b] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 390.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 50. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. t. ii. p. 108.
* 486,000 livres (20,050l.).

Since that fatal period, Mytilene, after repairing her loſſes and rebuilding her walls [d], has attained the ſame degree of ſplendour ſhe enjoyed for many ages [e]. The extent of ground ſhe occupies, the beauty of her edifices, the number and opulence of her inhabitants [f], entitle her to the name of the capital of Leſbos. The ancient town, built in a ſmall iſland, is ſeparated from the modern city by an arm of the ſea [g]. The latter extends along the ſhore, in a plain bounded by hills covered with vines and olive-trees [h], beyond which is a very fertile and very populous country. But, however fortunate the poſition of Mytilene may appear, it is incommoded by prevailing winds, which ſometimes render it almoſt inſupportable. The ſoutherly winds and thoſe of the north-weſt, are the cauſe of various diſorders, whilſt the northern gales, which bring their cure, are ſo cold, that when they blow it is difficult to remain in the ſtreets and open places [i]. The commerce of Mytilene attracts a number of foreign veſſels into her harbours; one of which is ſituated to the north, the other to the ſouthward of the city. The former, which is more ſpacious and deeper than the latter, is ſheltered from the fury of the winds and waves by a kind of mole of huge rocks [k].

Leſbos is the abode of pleaſure, or rather of the moſt unreſtrained licentiouſneſs [l]. The inhabitants relax their principles of morality as occaſion may require, and adapt themſelves to circumſtances with as much facility as they open or ſhut certain leaden rules made uſe of by their architects [m] *. Nothing in all my travels ſurpriſed me more than ſuch a diſſoluteneſs of manners, and the change it effected in my mind.

[d] Diod. lib. 17. t. ii. p. 509.
[e] Plin. lib. 5. t. i. p. 288.
[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 445. Strab. lib. 13. p. 616 et 617. Cicer. de Leg. Agr. orat. 2. cap. 16. t. v. p. 119.
[g] Diod. lib. 13. t. ii. p. 201.
[h] Long. Paſtor. lib. 1. in init. Pococke, t. ii. part 2. p. 15.
[i] Vitruv. lib. 1. cap. 6.
[k] Diod. lib. 13. t. ii. p. 200. Strab. lib. 13. p. 617. Pococke, t. ii. part 2. p. 15.
[l] Athen. lib. 10. p. 438. Lucian. Dialog. 5. p 289. t. iii.
[m] Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 5. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 72.
* Theſe rules ſerved to meaſure all ſorts of plane and curve ſurfaces.

I had imbibed the impreſſions of infancy without examination; and my reaſon, formed on the authority and example of that of others, found itſelf ſuddenly at a loſs amongſt a more enlightened people. I found in this new world a freedom of ideas and ſentiments which at firſt gave me pain. But the men inſenſibly taught me to bluſh at my ſobriety, and the women at my reſerve. My progreſs in politeneſs of manners and of language was leſs rapid. I was like a tree tranſplanted from a foreſt into a garden, whoſe branches it is a work of time to bend to the fancy of the gardener.

During this courſe of education, I paid particular attention to the celebrated perſonages whom Leſbos has produced, and at the head of the moſt diſtinguiſhed names ſhall place that of Pittacus, ranked by Greece among the number of her ſages [n].

The lapſe of more than two centuries ſince his death has only added new luſtre to his glory. By his valour and his prudence he reſcued Mytilene, his country, from the tyrants who had enſlaved her, the war ſhe had engaged in againſt the Athenians, and the inteſtine diviſions to which ſhe was a prey [o]. When the ſovereign power of the city and of the whole iſland was intruſted to him, his only view in accepting it, was to reſtore peace to his country, and give her thoſe laws of which ſhe ſtood in need [p]. One of theſe merits the attention of philoſophers [q]: I mean the law that inflicts a double puniſhment on crimes committed in intoxication. Though apparently not proportioned to the offence, it was neceſſary to deſtroy the plea of ignorance in the exceſſes to which the love of wine hurried the Leſbians. Having finiſhed his work of legiſlation, Pittacus reſolved to dedicate the

[n] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343; et alii.

[o] Diod. Excerpt. p. 234. in excerpt. Valeſ. Strab. l. 13 p 600. Plut. de Malign. Herod. t. ii. p 858. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 25.

[p] Ariſt. de Rep lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 357. Laert. lib 1. § 75.

[q] Ariſt. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 34. Id. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. ii. p. 582. Laert. ibid. § 76. t. i.

remainder of his life to the ſtudy of wiſdom [r], and abdicated without oſtentation the ſovereign power. When aſked his reaſon, he replied, "I was terrified at ſeeing Periander of Corinth become the tyrant, after he had been the father of his ſubjects [s]. It is too difficult to be always virtuous [t]."

Muſic and poetry have made ſo great a progreſs at Leſbos, that, though the language ſpoken there be not ſo pure as at Athens [u], the Greeks ſtill continue to ſay that the Muſes make the air re-echo with their lamentations at the funerals of the Leſbians [x]. This iſland poſſeſſes a ſchool of muſic, which, if we credit a tradition I learned at Methymna, dates its origin in the moſt remote ages. I am almoſt aſhamed to repeat it. Yet, to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greeks, it is not improper ſometimes to conſider the fictions with which their annals are embelliſhed or diſfigured: for, from the hiſtory of this people, we learn the true character of their paſſions; and from their fables that of their genius.

Orpheus, whoſe ſongs wrought ſo many prodigies, having been torn to pieces by the Bacchantes, his head and lyre were thrown into the Hebrus, a river of Thrace, and conveyed by the waves of the ſea to the ſhores of Methymna [y]. In its paſſage, the voice of Orpheus ſent forth enchanting ſounds, accompanied by the lyre, the ſtrings of which were gently agitated by the wind [z]. The Methymnians buried the head in a place which they ſhowed me, and hung up the lyre in the temple of Apollo. As a recompence, the god inſpired them with a taſte for muſic, and rendered the iſland fertile in genius [a]. Whilſt the prieſt of Apollo was giving me this detail, a citizen of Methymna obſerved that the Muſes had interred the body of Orpheus in a diſtrict of Thrace [b], and that

[r] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. ii. p. 281. Laert. ibid. § 75.
[s] Zenob. cent. 6. prov 38.
[t] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 339.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 341.
[x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. p. 338.
[y] Ovid. Metam. lib. 2. v. 55. Phylarg. in Georg. Virg. lib. 4. 523. Euſtat. in Dionyſ. v. 536.
[z] Lucian. Adv. Indoct. t. iii. p. 109.
[a] Hygin. Aſtron. Poet. lib. 2. cap. 7.
[b] Id. ibid.

in the neighbourhood of his tomb the ſong of the nightingale was more melodious than in any other country [c].

Leſbos has produced a ſucceſſion of men of genius, who have tranſmitted to each other the honour of excelling all the other muſicians of Greece in the art of playing on the citharа [d]. The names of Arion of Methymna, and Terpander of Antiſſa, are an ornament to this numerous liſt.

The former, who lived about three hundred years ſince [e], has left a collection of poems [f], which he ſang, accompanied by his lyre, as was then the practice with all the poets. After inventing, or at leaſt improving dithyrambics [g], a ſpecies of poetry of which I ſhall ſpeak further hereafter, he adapted them to circular dances [h], a cuſtom ſtill prevalent in our days. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, long detained him in that city, which he left to go into Sicily, where he gained the prize in a muſical competition [i]. Embarking next for Tarentum, in a Corinthian veſſel, the ſailors determined to throw him into the ſea, to get poſſeſſion of his property; but after endeavouring in vain to move them by the harmony of his voice and lyre, he plunged into it himſelf [k]. A dolphin, of greater ſenſiblity than the inexorable mariners, conveyed him, it is ſaid, to the promontory of Tænarus; a kind of prodigy, the poſſibility of which they endeavoured to prove to me by reaſons and examples. The fact, atteſted by Arion in one of his hymns [l], and preſerved in the tradition of the Leſbians, was confirmed to me at Corinth, where it was added, that Periander put the ſailors to death [m]. I myſelf ſaw at Tænarus [n], on the Helicon [o], and at other places, the ſtatue of this poet, who is always repreſented on a dolphin. We may

[c] Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 769.
[d] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1133.
[e] Solin. cap. 7.
[f] Suid. in Ἀρίων.
[g] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 23. Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 13. v. 25.
[h] Hellan. et Dicæar. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in av. v. 1403.
[i] Solin. cap. 7.
[k] Herodot. ibid. cap. 24. Oppian. Halieut. lib. 5. v. 450. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 8. t. i. p. 502. Solin. cap. 12.
[l] Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 12. cap. 45.
[m] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 24.
[n] Id. ibid. Dion. Chryſt. orat. 37. p. 455. Gell. lib. 16. cap. 19.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 9. cap. 30. p. 767.

add, that dolphins not only appear ſenſible to muſic [p], capable of gratitude, and friendly to man [q]; but that they have more than once repeated the affecting ſcene I have been mentioning [r]. They ſaved from ſhipwreck Taras, the founder of Tarentum; and Ariſtotle [s] made me remark, one day, that the inhabitants of that city had preſerved the memory of this fact upon their coin *.

Terpander [t] lived nearly at the ſame time with Arion. He more than once carried off the prize at the public games of Greece [u]; but his real victories were his diſcoveries. He added three ſtrings to the lyre, which till his time had only four [x]; compoſed airs for various inſtruments, which were conſidered as models [y]; invented ſeveral new ſpecies of poetical metre [z]; and introduced an action, and conſequently an intereſt, into the hymns written for the prize in muſical competitions [a]. Thanks are due to him likewiſe for having fixed by notes the meaſure proper for the poetry of Homer [b]. The Lacedæmonians ſtyle him, by way of excellence, the Leſbian ſongſter [c]; and the other Greeks hold him in that high eſteem with which they never fail to honour thoſe talents which contribute to their pleaſures.

About fifty years after Terpander, Alcæus and Sappho, who both are entitled to a place in the firſt claſs of lyric poets, flouriſhed at Mytilene. Alcæus [d] was born with a reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition, and ſeemed at firſt inclined to adopt the profeſſion of arms, which he preferred to every other

[p] Arion. ap. Ælian. ibid. Plin. lib. 9. cap. 8. t. i. p. 502.

[q] Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 9. cap. 48. t. i. p. 954. Ælian. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 15.

[r] Plin. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 13. p. 831.

[s] Ariſt. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 80.

* The medals of Tarentum have in fact the figure of a man ſeated on a dolphin, holding in his hands a lyre.

[t] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 234. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 213.

[u] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1132. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 4. p. 635.

[x] Terp. ap. Eucl. Introd. Harmon. p. 19; in Autor. Antiq. Muſ. t. i. Strab. lib. 13. p. 618.

[y] Plut. ibid. Marm. Oxon. epoch. 35.

[z] Plut. ibid. p. 1135.

[a] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 9. § 66.

[b] Plut. ibid. p. 1132.

[c] Id. de Ser. Num. Vind. t. ii. p. 558.

[d] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 563.

[e] Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627.

purſuit. His houſe was filled with ſwords, helmets, ſhields, and cuiraſſes [e]; but, on his firſt eſſay in the field, he ſhamefully fled, and the Athenians, after their victory, branded him with diſgrace, by ſuſpending his arms in the temple of Minerva at Sigæum [f]. He made great pretenſions to the love of liberty; but was ſuſpected of harbouring a ſecret wiſh for its deſtruction [g]. With his brothers, he firſt joined Pittacus, to expel Melanchrus, tyrant of Mytilene [h], and then took part with the malecontents to ſubvert the government of Pittacus. This violence and indecency of the abuſe he laviſhed on that prince [i] evinced nothing but his jealouſy. Baniſhed from Mytilene, he ſome time after returned at the head of the exiles [k], and fell into the hands of his rival, who took the nobleſt revenge by pardoning him [l].

Poetry, love, and wine, conſoled him for his diſgrace. His early writings were filled with invectives againſt tyranny: he now ſang the gods [m], and, above all, the deities who preſide over pleaſures [n]; he ſang his loves, his warlike labours, his travels, and the miſeries of baniſhment [o]. His genius required to be ſtimulated by intemperance [p]; and it was in a kind of intoxication that he compoſed thoſe works that have acquired him the admiration of poſterity [q]. His ſtyle, uniformly adapted to his ſubject, has no other defects but what ariſe from the language ſpoken at Leſbos. He unites harmony with vigour, and richneſs with preciſion and perſpicuity. He ſoars almoſt to the height of Homer, when he deſcribes battles, or would make a tyrant tremble [r].

Alcæus had conceived a paſſion for Sappho, and he one day wrote to her: "I wiſh to explain myſelf, but ſhame re-

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[e] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.
[f] Laert. lib. 1. § 74.
[g] Id. ibid. § 81. Menag. Not. in Laert.
[h] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14.
[i] Laert. ibid. § 76.
[k] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 563.
[l] Horat. lib. 1. od. 32.
[m] Alcæi Carm. Horat. lib. 2. od. 13.
[n] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 429.
[o] Dion. Halicar. de Struct. Orat. t. v. p. 187.
[p] Id. de Cenſ. Vet. Script. t. v. p. 421. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 631.

ſtrains me." "Your forehead would not bluſh," anſwered ſhe, "were not your heart culpable [s]."

Sappho was accuſtomed to ſay: "I am actuated by the love of pleaſures and of virtue [t]. Without virtue nothing is ſo dangerous as riches, and happineſs conſiſts in the union of both [u]. She uſed likewiſe to ſay: "This perſon is diſtinguiſhed by his figure, that by his virtues; the one appears beautiful at a firſt view, the other not leſs ſo at a ſecond [x]."

I was one day repeating theſe, and many ſimilar expreſſions, to a citizen of Mytilene, and added: "The figure of Sappho is ſeen upon your coins [y], and you profeſs the higheſt veneration for her memory [z]. How is it poſſible to conciliate the ſentiments ſhe has left us in her writings, and the honours you publicly decree her, with the infamous manners with which ſhe is privately reproached?" He anſwered me, "We are not ſufficiently acquainted with particulars to form a competent judgment of her life *. Strictly ſpeaking, no concluſion can be drawn in her favour from the love ſhe profeſſes for virtue, nor from the honours we pay to her talents. When I read ſome of her works, I dare not acquit her; but ſhe had merit and enemies; and I dare not condemn her."

After the death of her huſband, ſhe devoted her leiſure hours to letters, and undertook to inſpire the Leſbian women with a taſte for literature [a]. Many of them received inſtructions from her, and foreign women increaſed the number of her diſciples. She loved them to exceſs, becauſe it was impoſſible for her to love otherwiſe, and ſhe expreſſed

[s] Ariſt. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 531.
[t] Sapph. ap. Athen. lib. 15. p. 687.
[u] Ead. apud Schol. Pindar. Olymp. 2. v. 96; et Pyth. 5. v. 1.
[x] Ead. in Fragm. Chriſt. Wolf. p. 72.
[y] Poll. Onom. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 84.
[z] Ariſt. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 576.
* It muſt be obſerved, that every thing relative to the diſſolute manners of Sappho, is to be found only in authors greatly poſterior to the time in which ſhe lived.
[a] Suid in Sapph.

her tenderneſs with all the violence of paſſion. Your ſurpriſe at this will ceaſe, when you become better acquainted with the extreme ſenſibility of the Greeks, and diſcover that amongſt them the moſt innocent connections often borrow the impaſſioned language of love. Read the dialogues of Plato, you will there ſee in what terms Socrates ſpeaks of the beauty of his pupils [b]. Yet no perſon knew better than Plato how pure the intentions of his maſter were. Nor was there leſs purity perhaps in thoſe of Sappho. But a certain facility of manners ſhe poſſeſſed, and the warmth of her expreſſions, were but too well calculated to expoſe her to the hatred of ſome women of diſtinction, humbled by her ſuperiority, and of the jealouſy of ſome of her diſciples, who happened not to be the objects of her preference. To this hatred, which broke forth into violence, ſhe replied by truths and irony [c], which completely exaſperated her enemies. She then complained of their perſecutions [d], and this was a new crime. Compelled at length to fly *, ſhe repaired to Sicily in ſearch of an aſylum [e], where, as I am told, it is intended [f] to erect a ſtatue to her †. If the rumours you ſpeak of are, as I believe them to be, without foundation, we may learn from her example, that great indiſcretions are ſufficient to tarniſh the reputation of every perſon expoſed to the eye of the public and poſterity.

The ſenſibility of Sappho was extreme.—"She was then exceedingly unhappy," ſaid I. "Undoubtedly ſhe was," replied he. "She loved Phaon, who forſook her [g]. After various attempts to bring him back, deſpairing henceforward of happineſs either with him or without him, ſhe took the leap

[b] Plat. in Phædr. Maxim. Tyr. diſſert. 24. § 9. p. 297.

[c] Athen. lib. 1. p. 21. Sapph. ap. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 146; apud Stob. de Imprud. ſerm. 4. p. 52.

[d] Horat lib. 2. od. 13.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[e] Marm. Oxon. epoch. 37.

[f] Cicer. in Verr. lib. 4. cap. 57. t. iv. p. 402.

† This ſtatue was erected ſome years after. It was ſculptured by Silanion, one of the moſt celebrated artiſts of his time. Cicer. ibid. Tatian. ad Græc. cap. 52. p. 113.

[g] Athen. lib. 13. p. 596. Plin. lib. 22. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 269. Ovid. Heroid. ep. 15. t. i. p. 195.

of Leucata, and periſhed in the waves [h]. Death has not effaced the ſtain imprinted on her character, and perhaps, added he, concluding his diſcourſe, it will never be obliterated; for envy, which faſtens on illuſtrious names, does indeed expire, but bequeathes her aſperſions to that calumny which never dies.

Sappho has compoſed hymns, odes, elegies, and a number of other pieces, principally in a kind of metre of which ſhe was herſelf the inventreſs [i]: all of theſe abound in various novel and happy expreſſions with which ſhe has enriched the language [k].

Several of the Grecian women have cultivated poetry with ſucceſs, but none have hitherto attained to the excellence of Sappho [l], and among the other poets there are few indeed who have ſurpaſſed her. What an attention does ſhe diſplay in the ſelection of her words and ſubjects! She has painted all the moſt pleaſing objects in nature [m]. She has painted them in the moſt harmonizing colours, and ſo ſkilful is ſhe in their diſtribution, as always to produce the happieſt combination of light and ſhade [n]. Her taſte is tranſcendent even in the mechaniſm of her ſtyle, in which, by an addreſs which gives not the leaſt idea of labour, we meet with no diſſonant claſhings, no violent ſhocks between the elements of language; and the moſt delicate ear would ſcarcely diſcover in a whole poem, a few ſounds which it had been better to ſuppreſs [o]. So perfect is the raviſhing harmony of her ſtyle, that in the greateſt part of her productions her verſes flow with more grace and ſoftneſs than thoſe of Anacreon and Simonides.

But with what force of genius ſhe hurries us along when ſhe deſcribes the charms, the tranſports and intoxication of

[h] Men. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 452.
[i] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 590. Johan. Chriſtoph. Wolf Vit. Sapph. p. 6. et 18.
[k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. § 167.
[l] Strab. lib. 13. p. 617.
[m] Demetr. Phal. de Elocut. § 132.
[n] Dion. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. § 23 p. 171.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 180. Demetr. Phal. § 132. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. t. ii. p. 397.

love! What ſcenery! what warmth of colouring! Agitated, like the Pythia by the inſpiring god, ſhe throws on the paper her words that burn [p]. Her ſentiments fall like a cloud of arrows, or a fiery ſhower about to conſume every thing. She animates and perſonifies all the ſymptoms of this paſſion, to excite the moſt powerful emotions in our ſouls [q].

It was at Mytilene that I traced out this feeble ſketch of the talents of Sappho, guided by the judgment of ſeveral perſons of information and abilities; it was in the ſilence of meditation, in one of thoſe beautiful nights ſo common in Greece, on hearing, under my windows, a melting voice, accompanied by the lyre, ſing an ode, in which that illuſtrious Leſbian abandons herſelf, without reſerve, to the impreſſion made by beauty on her too ſuſceptible heart. Methought I ſaw her languid, trembling, and as if thunderſtruck; deprived of her underſtanding and her ſenſes; alternately bluſhing and turning pale; yielding to the diverſified and tumultuous emotions of her paſſion, or rather of all the jarring paſſions of her ſoul.

Such is the eloquence of ſentiment. Never does it produce deſcriptions ſo ſublime and of ſo aſtoniſhing an effect, as when it ſelects and blends together the leading circumſtances of an intereſting ſituation [r]; thus does it act on the heart in this little poem, of which I ſhall only give you the firſt ſtanzas.

Bleſt as th' immortal gods is he,
The youth who fondly ſits by thee,
And hears and ſees thee all the while
Softly ſpeak and ſweetly ſmile.

'Twas this depriv'd my ſoul of reſt,
And rais'd ſuch tumults in my breaſt;
For while I gaz'd, in tranſport toſt,
My breath was gone, my voice was loſt:

[p] Plut. Amat. t. ii. p. 763. Horat. lib. 4. od. 9. v. 11.
[q] Longin. de Subl. § 10.
[r] Id. ibid.

My bosom glow'd; the subtle flame
Ran quick through all my vital frame;
O'er my dim eyes a darkness hung;
My ears with hollow murmurs rung.

In dewy damps my limbs were chill'd;
My blood with gentle horrors thrill'd;
My feeble pulse forgot to play;
I fainted, sunk, and died away *.

CHAP. IV.

Departure from Mytilene.—Description of Eubœa.—Arrival at Thebes.

THE next day they pressed us to embark. The boat was fastened to the vessel [s], and the two rudders to each side of the stern [t]. The mast was raised, the yard hoisted, the sails prepared, and every thing in readiness. Twenty rowers, ten on each side [u], already had their hands upon the oars. We quitted Mytilene with regret. At leaving the harbour, the crew sang hymns in honour of the gods, and with loud cries addressed them in vows to obtain a favourable wind [x].

When we had doubled Cape Malea, situated at the southern extremity of the island, we set our sails. The rowers redoubled their exertions, and we flew over the surface of the water. Our vessel, almost entirely built of fir [y], was of that kind which makes seventy thousand orgyiæ † in a summer's day, and sixty thousand ‡ in a night [z]. Some have been known to pass rapidly, in four and twenty days, from the

* See note at the end of the volume.
[s] Demost. in Zenoth. p. 929. Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucipp. Amor. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 240.
[t] Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 146.
[u] Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 949.
[x] Achill. Tat. lib. 2. cap. 32. p. 200.
[y] Theoph. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 533.
† About 26 leagues and a half.
‡ About 22 leagues three quarters.
[z] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 86.

coldeſt regions to the hotteſt climates, ſailing in that time from the Palus Mæotis to Æthiopia [a].

We had a favourable paſſage, without any remarkable occurrences. Our tents were placed near the awning of the captain [b], who was named Phanes. Sometimes I liſtened from complaiſance to the narrative of his voyages, at others I took up my Homer, in whom I diſcovered new beauties. For it is in the countries which were the theatre of the events he has immortalized, that we beſt can judge of the accuracy of his deſcriptions and the truth of his colouring [c]. I took the greateſt delight in comparing his pictures with the real ſcenes of nature, without finding the merit of the copy in the leaſt impaired by compariſon with the original.

Meanwhile we began to diſcover the ſummit of a mountain called Ocha, which overtops every other in Eubœa [d]. The farther we advanced, the more did the iſland ſeem to lengthen from ſouth to north. It extends, ſaid Phanes, the length of Attica, Bœotia, the country of the Locrians, and part of Theſſaly [e]; but its breadth is not proportioned to its length. The country is fertile, and produces a great quantity of corn, wine, oil, and fruits [f]. It poſſeſſes alſo copper and iron mines [g]. Our artiſts are very ſkilful in working theſe metals [h], and we pride ourſelves on having been the firſt to diſcover the uſe of the former [i]. In ſeveral places we have hot ſprings, uſeful in the cure of various diſorders [k]. But theſe advantages are compenſated by earthquakes, which have ſometimes ſwallowed up whole cities, and occaſioned the ſea to overflow large tracts of our coaſts, formerly covered with inhabitants [l].

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 167.
[b] Scheff. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 107.
[c] Wood. Eſſay on the Original Genius of Homer.
[d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 445. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2. p. 280.
[e] Strab. lib 10. p. 444.
[f] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 31.
[g] Strab. ibid. p. 447.
[h] Steph. in Ἀσβυ.
[i] Id. in Χαλκ. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2. p. 280.
[k] Steph. ibid. Strab. ibid. Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 567. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 211.
[l] Ariſt. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 8 t. i. p. 567. Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 89. Strab. lib. 10. p. 447.

The ſituation of the iſland, its excellent harbours, opulent cities, ſtrong fortreſſes [m], and rich harveſts which often furniſh Athens with proviſions, give reaſon to preſume that, if it fell into the hands of a ſovereign prince, it would eaſily hold in chains the neighbouring nations [n]. Our diviſions, by ſecuring them from this danger, have often inſpired them with the deſire, and furniſhed them the means of reducing us to ſubjection [o]; but their jealouſy has reſtored to us our liberty [p]. Leſs the ſubjects than allies of the Athenians, we are permitted, in conſideration of a tribute [q], to enjoy our laws in peace, and the advantages of a democratical government. We may convoke general aſſemblies at Chalcis, and in theſe the claims and intereſts of our cities are diſcuſſed [r].

We had on board ſome inhabitants of Eubœa, whom commercial views had led to Mytilene, and who were now returning to their country. One of them was of Oreus, another of Caryſtus, and the third of Eretria. If the wind permits us, ſaid the firſt to me, to enter by the north into the channel between the iſland and the continent, we may ſtop at the firſt town you find on the left [s], which is Oreus, almoſt entirely peopled by Athenians. You will there ſee a very ſtrong place both from its poſition and the fortifications that defend it [t]. You will view a territory, of which the vineyards were already celebrated in the days of Homer [u].—If you enter the channel by the oppoſite ſide, ſaid the ſecond, I ſhall invite you to go on ſhore at the harbour of Caryſtus, which we ſhall find on the right. Your eye will be delighted with the view of a country abounding in paſture-grounds and flocks [x]. I will conduct you to the quarries of Mount

[m] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.

[n] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 483. Ulpian. in Orat. ad Ariſtocr. p. 709. Polyb. lib. 17. p. 751.

[o] Demoſth. de Cor. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. cap. 7. p. 411.

[p] Demoſth. ibid. p. 489. Id. in Androt. p. 710. Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 445.

[q] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 442 et 443.

[r] Id. ibid.

[s] Liv. lib. 28. cap. 5.

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 349. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 46.

[u] Iliad. lib. 2. v. 537.

[x] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 280.

Ocha. The marble dug from them is of a ſea-green, with veins of different colours, and is extremely proper for columns [y]. You will ſee likewiſe a kind of ſtone capable of being ſpun, and of which a kind of cloth is made, that ſo far from being conſumed by fire, is only cleanſed by it from all its ſtains [z].

Come with me to Eretria, ſaid the third. I will ſhow you pictures and ſtatues without number [a]; you ſhall ſee a monument ſtill more venerable, the foundations of our ancient walls, deſtroyed by the Perſians whom we had the courage to reſiſt [b]. A pillar, erected in one of our temples, will prove to you that, at a feſtival annually celebrated in honour of Diana [c], we formerly brought out three thouſand foot ſoldiers, ſix hundred horſe, and ſixty chariots [d]. He then expatiated with ſo much warmth on the former power of that city, and the rank ſtill held by it in Greece, that Phanes could not refrain from entering on the eulogium of Chalcis, and a warm diſpute quickly enſued, reſpecting the pre-eminence of theſe two cities.

Aſtoniſhed at the violence with which they contended, I ſaid to Timagenes: Do theſe people confound their poſſeſſions with their perſonal qualities? Have you elſewhere many examples of ſuch rivalſhip?—It ſubſiſts, anſwered he, between the moſt powerful nations, as well as the moſt inconſiderable hamlets. It is founded on nature, which, to ſet every thing on earth in motion, has judged proper to implant two propenſities in our hearts, the ſource of all our enjoyments, and of all our ſufferings: the one is the love of theſe pleaſures that tend to the conſervation of our ſpecies; the other, the love of ſuperiority, which generates ambition and injuſtice, emulation and induſtry, without which men would neither

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[y] Strab. lib. 9. p. 437. Id. lib. 10. p. 446. Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 80. p. 564.

[z] Strab. lib. 10. p. 446.

[a] Liv. lib. 32. cap. 16.

[b] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 101. Strab. ibid. p. 448.

[c] Liv. lib. 35. cap. 38.

[d] Strab. ibid.

have hewn the columns of Caryſtus, painted the pictures of Eretria, nor perhaps even planted the vineyards of Oreus.

At this moment, the Chalcidean ſaid to his adverſary: Recollect that you are ridiculed on the ſtage of Athens, where they laugh at that barbarous pronunciation you have brought from Elis [e].—And have you forgotten, ſaid the Eretrian, that on the ſame ſtage they take rather more mortifying liberties with the avarice and depraved manners of the Chalcideans [f]? —But you will allow, ſaid the former, that Chalcis is one of the moſt ancient cities of Greece; Homer mentions it.—He ſpeaks of Eretria [g] in the ſame paſſage, replied the other.— We pride ourſelves on the colonies we formerly ſent into Thrace, Italy, and Sicily.—And we on thoſe we eſtabliſhed near Mount Athos [h].—Our anceſtors for ſome time groaned under the tyranny of the rich, and afterwards under that of a tyrant named Phoxus; but they had the courage to ſhake off the yoke and eſtabliſh a democracy [i].—Our fathers, in like manner, ſubſtituted a popular form of government for the ariſtocracy [k].—You ſhould not boaſt of that change, ſaid the Caryſtian; never were your cities ſo flouriſhing as under the adminiſtration of a ſmall number of citizens; for it was at that period that you ſent forth thoſe numerous colonies you have juſt mentioned.—They are both the more to blame, ſaid the inhabitant of Oreus, as the Chalcideans at this very day are cowardly enough to ſubmit to the tyranny of Mneſarchus, and the Eretrians to that of Themiſon [l].—It is not that they want courage, replied Timagenes; both nations are brave, and they have always been ſo. Upon one occaſion, before they proceeded to blows, they regulated the conditions of the combat, agreeing to fight hand to hand, without making uſe

[e] Id. lib. 10. p. 448. Heſych. in Ἐρέτρ. Euſtath. in Iliad. ν. 2. p. 279.
[f] Heſych. et Suid. in Χαλκ. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 279.
[g] Iliad. lib. 2. v. 538.
[h] Strab. lib. 10. p. 447. Euſtath. ibid.
[i] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 391.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 395.
[l] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 441.

of thoſe weapons which deſtroy at a diſtance. This extraordinary convention is engraven on a ſtone that I once ſaw in the temple of Diana, at Eretria [m]. The conſequence muſt have been a great effuſion of blood; but it was an efficacious method of terminating the war.

Among the advantages on which you plume yourſelves, ſaid I in my turn, there is one you have paſſed over in ſilence. Has Eubœa produced no philoſopher, no celebrated poet? How happens it that you have not imbibed a taſte for letters by your connections with the Athenians [n]? They ſtood motionleſs. The captain gave his orders to the crew. We doubled the ſouthern cape of the iſland, and entered a ſtrait, the ſhores of which were bordered on each ſide with towns of different ſizes, and, paſſing near the walls of Caryſtus and Eretria, we arrived at Chalcis.

This city is ſituated on a ſpot, where, by means of two promontories that project on both ſides, the coaſts of the iſland almoſt touch thoſe of Bœotia [o]. This ſmall interval, which is called Euripus, is in part filled up by a dike that Timagenes remembered to have ſeen conſtructed in his youth. On each end of it is a tower for its defence, and a drawbridge to let veſſels paſs [p]. Here we may more diſtinctly obſerve a phenomenon, the cauſe of which has never yet been diſcovered. Several times in the ſame day, and during the night, the waters of the ſea flow alternately to the north and ſouth, employing the ſame time to riſe and to decreaſe. On certain days the ebb and flow ſeem ſubjected to regular laws, like thoſe of the main ocean. But in an inſtant it departs from every rule [q], and the current is ſeen to change its direction every moment [r].

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[m] Strab. lib. 10. p. 448.
[n] Dicæarch. Stat Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 20.
[o] Strab. lib. 10. p. 445.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 173.
[q] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 90.
[r] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 162.

Chalcis is ſituated on the declivity of a hill of the ſame name [s]. Notwithſtanding the conſiderable extent of this city, they are ſtill propoſing to enlarge it [t]. Lofty trees, which grow in the public places and gardens [u], protect the inhabitants from the heat of the ſun, and a copious ſpring, called the Fountain of Arethuſa, affords them an ample ſupply of water [x]. The city is embelliſhed by a theatre, gymnaſia, porticos, temples, ſtatues, and paintings [y]. The excellence of its ſituation, its copper works [z], and the fertility of the neighbouring country, watered by the river Lelantus, and covered with olive-trees, invite to the harbour the veſſels of commercial nations [a]. The inhabitants are ignorant and curious to exceſs: they exerciſe hoſpitality towards ſtrangers, and, though jealous of liberty, eaſily bend their necks to ſervitude [b].

We ſlept at Chalcis, and the next morning, at day-break, arrived at Aulis, a ſmall town on the oppoſite coaſt, near which there is a large bay, where the fleet of Agamemnon was ſo long detained by contrary winds [c].

From Aulis we paſſed by Salganeus, and proceeded to Anthedon, by a pretty eaſy road, lying partly along the ſea ſhore, and partly over an eminence covered with wood, on which riſe a number of ſprings [d]. Anthedon is a ſmall town, with a public place ſhaded by handſome trees and ſurrounded by porticos. The principal occupation of the inhabitants is the fiſhery. A few cultivate a light ſoil, which produces a great deal of wine and very little corn [e].

We had now travelled ſeventy ſtadia *, and had only a hundred and ſixty † to arrive at Thebes [f].

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[s] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 19. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2. p. 279. Steph. in Χαλκ.
[t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 447.
[u] Dicæarch. ibid.
[x] Euſtat. in Iliad. ibid.
[y] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 19. Steph. in Χαλκ.
[a] Dicæarch. ibid. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. i. p. 211.
[b] Dicæarch. ibid.
[c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 403.
[d] Dicæarch. ibid.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 18.
* Above 2 leagues and a half.
† Somewhat more than 6 leagues.
[f] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 17 et 19.

As we were in a carriage, we took the road of the plain, though it was long and circuitous [8]. We ſoon approached this great city. At ſight of the citadel, which we diſcovered at a diſtance, Timagenes could no longer ſuppreſs his ſighs. Hope and fear were alternately painted on his countenance.—There then is my country, ſaid he; there is it that I left a father and mother who loved me with ſo much tenderneſs! Them I cannot flatter myſelf to find. But I had a brother and a ſiſter: it is poſſible death may have ſpared them to my longing eyes.—Theſe reflections, which were perpetually recurring, diſtracted both our ſouls. How much, at this inſtant, did I participate in his anxiety; and how much to be pitied did he appear to me a moment after! We arrived at Thebes, and the reſult of his firſt inquiries plunged a dagger into the heart of my friend. Regret for his abſence had hurried the authors of his being to the grave. His brother had fallen in battle; his ſiſter, who had been married at Athens, was no more, and had left only a ſon and daughter. His grief was extreme; but the marks of attention and tenderneſs he received from citizens of every rank, from ſome diſtant relations, and eſpecially from Epaminondas, alleviated his ſufferings, and compenſated in ſome meaſure for his loſſes.

CHAP. V.

Stay at Thebes.—Epaminondas—Philip of Macedon.

IN the relation of a ſecond journey I made into Bœotia, I ſhall ſpeak of the city of Thebes, and of the manners of the Thebans. In my firſt, my whole attention was beſtowed on Epaminondas.

I was preſented to him by Timagenes; and he was too well acquainted with the ſage Anacharſis not to be ſtruck

[8] Id. ibid. p. 17.

with my name. He was affected with the motives that brought me into Greece, and asked me many questions concerning the Scythians; but I was so impressed with admiration and respect, that I answered with hesitation. Perceiving my embarrassment, he turned the conversation on the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand. He desired to see us often, and we visited him every day. We were present at several conversations which he held with the most enlightened Thebans, and with the ablest officers. Though he had enriched his mind with every kind of knowledge, he chose rather to hear than to speak. His reflections were always just and profound. On occasions of controversy, when it was necessary to defend himself, his answers were prompt, energetic, and precise. Nothing could be more interesting than the conversation, when it turned on philosophical or political topics [h].

I call to mind, with a mixture of pride and pleasure, the familiar terms on which I lived with perhaps the greatest man that Greece ever has produced [i]; for why should we not grant this title to the general who perfected the art of war, who eclipsed the glory of the most renowned commanders [k], and was never vanquished but by fortune [l]; to the statesman who gave to Thebes a superiority she had never possessed, and which she lost immediately on his death [m]; to the negociator who, in the general assemblies and congresses of Greece, always maintained a superiority over the other Grecian deputies [n], and found means to retain in the alliance of Thebes, his country, even the states who were jealous of the growth of this new power; to the man who equalled in eloquence the greater part of the Athenian orators [o], was no less de-

h Nep. in Epam. cap. 3.
i Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 313. Id. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 234.
k Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 356 et 396. Ælian. lib. 7. cap. 14.
l Polyb. lib. 9. p. 548.
m Id. lib. 6. p. 488. Diod. ibid. p. 388 et 397. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 622. Nep. in Epam. cap. 10.
n Nep. in Epam. cap. 6.
o Cicer. in Brut. cap. 13. t. i. p. 346.

voted to his country than Leonidas [p], and perhaps more juſt even than Ariſtides?

A faithful portrait of his mind and heart would be the only eulogy worthy of Epaminondas; but who is able to define and explain that ſublime philoſophy which enlightened and directed all his actions; that genius, ſo rich in information and ſo fruitful in reſources; thoſe plans, concerted with ſuch prudence, and executed with ſuch celerity? Who ſhall ſufficiently deſcribe his equality of mind, his purity of morals *, his dignity of demeanour and of manners, the attention he paid to truth even in the minuteſt particulars, his mildneſs, his benignity, and the patience with which he ſuſtained the injuſtice of the people, and even of ſome of his friends [q]?

In a life where the private individual appears no leſs amiable than the public man, it will ſuffice promiſcuouſly to ſelect a few traits which ſerve to characterize them both. I have already related his principle achievements in the firſt chapter of this work.

His houſe was leſs the aſylum than the ſanctuary of poverty. She reigned there with the pure joy of innocence, and the unalterable ſerenity of happineſs, ſurrounded by the other virtues, to which ſhe gave new powers, while ſhe derived luſtre from their eminence. She reigned there with a privation ſo abſolute as almoſt to ſurpaſs belief [r]. When on the point of ſetting out on an expedition into Peloponneſus, Epaminondas was obliged to borrow fifty drachmas to purchaſe himſelf the neceſſary equipage †; yet was it about the ſame time that he rejected with indignation fifty pieces of gold, which a Theſſalian prince had ventured to offer him [s]. In vain did his friends attempt to ſhare their fortune with him;

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[p] Id. de Fin. lib. 2. cap. 19. t. ii. p. 123.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[q] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3. Plut. in Pelop. p. 290. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 49. p. 699.

[r] Front. Strat. lib. 4. cap. 3.

† About 45 livres (1l. 17s. 6d.)

[s] Ælian. lib. 11. cap. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 193.

but he made them ſhare the honour of relieving the wretched.

We found him one day with ſeveral of them aſſembled at his houſe, to whom he ſaid: Sphodrias has a daughter who is marriageable, but as he is too poor to give her a portion, I have taxed each of you according to your abilities. I am obliged to ſtay at home for a few days, but the firſt time I go out, I will preſent to you this worthy citizen, for it is but right that he ſhould receive your bounty from yourſelves, and be acquainted with his benefactors [t]. They all conſented to the propoſal, and left him with thanks for this mark of confidence. Timagenes, to whom this project of retirement had given ſome uneaſineſs, inquired of him the motive; to which he ſimply anſwered: I am obliged to have my mantle cleaned [u]. And the truth is that he had not a ſecond.

A moment after, Mycithus, a young man to whom he was greatly attached, entered, and ſaid: Diomedon of Cyzicus is arrived, and has addreſſed himſelf to me to be introduced to you. He has ſome propoſitions to make on the part of the king of Perſia, with orders to deliver to you a conſiderable ſum, and has even forced me to accept five talents.—Let him enter, anſwered Epaminondas. "Hear me, Diomedon," ſaid he; "if the views of Artaxerxes be conſiſtent with the intereſts of my country, I ſtand in no need of his preſents: if not, all the gold in his empire would not induce me to betray my duty. You have judged of my heart by your own; I forgive you this miſtake; but depart inſtantly from the city, leſt you ſhould corrupt the inhabitants [x]. And as for you, Mycithus, if you do not this very moment return the money you have received, I ſhall deliver you up to the magiſtracy." We had ſtepped out during this converſation, but Mycithus repeated it to us directly after.

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[t] Nep. in Epam. cap. 3.
[u] Ælian. lib. 5. cap. 5.
[x] Nep. in Epam. cap. 4. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 5.

This leſſon Epaminondas had more than once given to thoſe about him. When at the head of the army, having learned that his ſhield-bearer had ſold a captive his liberty: Give me back my buckler, ſaid he to him. Since your hands are ſoiled with money, you are no longer worthy to follow me in dangers [y].

A zealous diſciple of Pythagoras, he imitated his frugality. He denied himſelf the uſe of wine, and frequently took no other nutriment but a little honey [z]. Muſic, which he had been taught by the ableſt maſters, ſometimes conſtituted the delight of his leiſure hours. He excelled on the flute; and at entertainments to which he was invited, ſang in his turn, accompanying his voice with the lyre [a].

The more affability he diſplayed in ſociety, the greater was his ſeverity when it became neceſſary to maintain the decorum ſuitable to each condition. One of the loweſt of the people, a man abandoned to debauchery, had been detained in priſon: Why, ſaid Pelopidas to his friend, did you refuſe me his pardon, and grant it to a courtezan? "Becauſe," anſwered Epaminondas, "it ill becomes a man like you to intereſt yourſelf for a man like him [b].

Never did he either court or decline public employments. He more than once ſerved as a common ſoldier, under inexperienced generals, preferred to him by intrigue. More than once the troops, beſieged in their camp, and reduced to the moſt critical extremities, had recourſe to him for aſſiſtance. On theſe occaſions, he directed the operations, repulſed the enemy, and brought back the army in ſafety, without remembering either the injuſtice he had experienced, or the ſervice he had rendered to his country [c].

He neglected no circumſtance that might raiſe the courage of his nation, and render it formidable to others. Previous

[y] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 11. cap. 9. Plut. in Apopht. t. ii. p. 194.
[z] Athen. lib. 10. p. 419.
[a] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 234. Athen. lib. 4. p. 184. Nep. in Epam. 2.
[b] Plut. de Rei Ger. Præc. t. ii. p. 808.
[c] Nep. in Epam. cap. 7.

to his firſt campaign in Peloponneſus, he prevailed on ſome Thebans to wreſtle with ſeveral Lacedæmonians who were then at Thebes. The former having gained the advantage, from that moment his ſoldiers began no longer to dread the Lacedæmonians [d]. Whilſt he was encamped, in winter, in Arcadia, the deputies of one of the adjacent cities propoſed to him to enter, and take up his quarters in it. "No," ſaid Epaminondas to his officers; "if they ſaw us ſeated by the "fire, they would take us for ordinary men. We will re- "main here, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon. When "they ſee us continue our wreſtling matches and military "exerciſes, they will be loſt in aſtoniſhment [e]."

Daiphantus and Iollidas, two general officers, who had merited his eſteem, ſaid one day to Timagenes, You would admire him ſtill more, had you followed him in his expeditions; had you ſtudied his marches, his encampments, his diſpoſitions before a battle, and his genuine courage and preſence of mind in the heat of the conflict; had you beheld him ever active and ſerene, penetrating at a glance the projects of the enemy; lulling them into a fatal ſecurity, multiplying around them almoſt inevitable ambuſhes [f], maintaining, at the ſame time, the moſt rigid diſcipline in his army, exciting, by new and efficacious methods, the ardour of his ſoldiers [g], and unremittingly exerting himſelf for the preſervation, and, above every thing, for their honour.

By ſuch engaging marks of attention, he has completely won their hearts. Even when worn out with fatigue, and tormented by hunger, they are always ready to execute his orders, and ruſh into the midſt of danger [h]. Thoſe panic terrors, ſo frequent in other armies, are unknown in his; and when they are likely to ariſe, a ſingle word from him diſpels or turns them to his advantage [i]. We were on the point

[d] Polyæan. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 6.
[e] Plut. an Seni, &c. p. 788. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3.
[g] Id. ibid.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. lib. 7. p. 645.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 367 et 368. Polyæn. ibid. § 3 et 8.

of entering Peloponneſus, and the army of the enemy had encamped in front [k]. Whilſt Epaminondas was reconnoitring their poſition, a clap of thunder cauſed a great alarm amongſt the ſoldiers; and the augur ordered our march to be ſuſpended. In this moment of diſmay, the general was aſked what could be the meaning of ſuch a preſage. "Why, that the "enemy has choſen a bad camp," cried he with confidence. The courage of the troops revived; and the next day they forced the paſs [l].

The two Theban officers related other facts which I ſuppreſs; and, omitting ſeveral that occurred before my eyes, I ſhall proceed to this reflection. Epaminondas, devoid of ambition, vanity, or intereſted views, raiſed, in a few years, his nation to that height of greatneſs which we have ſeen the Thebans attain. This prodigy he effected, in the firſt inſtance, by the influence of his virtues and his talents. While he thus ſwayed the mind of the public, by the ſuperiority of his genius and information, he guided at will the paſſions of others, becauſe he remained maſter of his own. But his ſucceſs is principally to be imputed to the energy of his character. His lofty and independent ſoul felt an early indignation at the ſovereignty aſſumed by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians over the Greeks in general, and more particularly over the Thebans. He vowed an eternal hatred to theſe oppreſſors, which would have remained ſecluded in his own breaſt; but no ſooner did his country confide to him the avenging of her wrongs, than he broke the chains of nations, and became a conqueror from duty. He formed the project, equally bold and new, of attacking the Lacedæmonians in the very centre of their empire, and of depriving them of that pre-eminence they had enjoyed for ſuch a ſeries of ages. This plan he purſued with perſeverance, in deſpite of their power, their fame, their allies, and even of their enemies, who beheld with a jealous eye the ra-

[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 380.

[l] Polyæn. Stratag. l. 2. c. 3. § 3.

pid progreſs of the Thebans. Nor did he ſuffer his ardour to be checked by the oppoſition of a party, formed at Thebes in favour of peace, becauſe Epaminondas was inclined to war [m]. Meneclides was at the head of this faction. His eloquence, his authority, and the ſecret charms of tranquillity, ſo prevalent with the greater part of mankind, gave him great influence among the people; but the firmneſs of Epaminondas finally ſurmounted all obſtacles, and when we left Thebes every thing was ready for the campaign. Had not death terminated his career in the midſt of a triumph which left the Lacedæmonians without reſource, he would have made the Athenians give an account of the victories they had gained over the Greeks, and, as he ſaid himſelf, have enriched the citadel of Thebes with the monuments which decorated that of Athens [n].

We had frequent opportunities of ſeeing Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas. This reſpectable old man was leſs affected with the homage paid to his own virtues, than with the honours beſtowed upon his ſon. He more than once reminded us of the tender ſentiment expreſſed by Epaminondas after the battle of Leuctra, amid the acclamations of the army: "What gives me the moſt pleaſure is, that the authors of my being are yet alive, and will enjoy my glory [o]."

The Thebans had intruſted Polymnis with the care of the young Philip, brother of Perdiccas king of Macedon [p]. Pelopidas, having appeaſed the troubles of that kingdom, received for hoſtages this prince, and thirty young Macedonian noblemen [q]. Philip, then about eighteen years of age, already united the talent with the deſire of pleaſing. All who ſaw him admired his beauty [r]; and all who heard him, his wit, memory, eloquence, and thoſe graces which added ſo

[m] Nep. in Epam. cap. 5.
[n] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 411.
[o] Plut. in Coriol. t. i. p. 215.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 407.
[q] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 291. Diod. lib. 15. p. 379. Juſtin. lib. 7. cap. 5. Oroſ. l. 3. cap. 12. p. 167.
[r] Æſch. de Falſ. Leg. p. 402 et 412.

many charms to his words [s]. His gaiety ſometimes ſuffered a few ſallies to eſcape him, but theſe were ſuch as could never give offence. Mild, affable, generous, and quick in diſcerning merit, no man knew better than he the art and neceſſity of inſinuating himſelf into the heart [t]. The Pythagorean Nauſithous, his preceptor, had inſtilled into him a taſte for literature, which he retained all his life, and gave him leſſons of temperance, which he afterwards forgot [u]. The love of pleaſure made its appearance amid ſo many excellent qualities, but without interrupting their application; and it was already foretold, that if this prince ſhould one day mount the throne, he would not be governed entirely either by buſineſs or by pleaſure.

Philip was aſſiduouſly attentive to Epaminondas; in the genius of a great man he ſtudied the ſecret of one day becoming great [x]; he eagerly collected his obſervations, as well as his examples; and it was in this excellent ſchool that he learned to moderate and govern his paſſions [y], to liſten to the truth, to correct his errors, to know the Greeks, and to enſlave Greece.

CHAP. VI.

Departure from Thebes.—Arrival at Athens.—Inhabitants of Attica.

I HAVE already ſaid, that Timagenes had no relations remaining, but a nephew and a niece, ſettled at Athens. The name of his nephew was Philotas, and that of his niece Epicharis. She had married a wealthy citizen, named Apollodorus. They came to Thebes a few days after our arrival.

[s] Id. ibid. p. 401.
[t] Diod. lib. 16. p. 482. Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806.
[u] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. 1. p. 136. Diod. ibid. p. 407. Athen. l. 4. p. 167. lib. 6. p. 260.
[x] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 292.
[y] Plut. Conjug. Præc. t. ii. p. 143; in Apophth. p. 177.

Timagenes enjoyed in their ſociety a pleaſure and tranquillity which had long been ſtrangers to his heart. Philotas was of the ſame age with myſelf. I began to form an intimacy with him, and he ſoon became my guide, my companion, my friend, the tendereſt, and faithfulleſt of friends.

Before their departure, they made us promiſe ſhortly to pay them a viſit. We took leave of Epaminondas with a regret which he deigned to ſhare, and repaired to Athens on the 16th of the month Antheſterion, in the ſecond year of of the 104th Olympiad *. In the houſe of Apollodorus, we found all the comforts and aſſiſtance to be expected from his opulence and connections.

The next day after my arrival, I flew to the academy, where I ſaw Plato. I went to the work-room of the painter Euphranor. I was in that kind of delirium occaſioned by the firſt ſight of celebrated men, and the pleaſure of approaching them. I next fixed my attention on the city, and for ſome days employed myſelf in admiring its monuments, and in viſiting its environs.

Athens is, as it were, divided into three parts; the citadel, built on a rock; the city, ſituated around this rock [z]; and the harbours of Phalerum, Munichiæ, and the Piræus †.

The firſt inhabitants of Athens fixed their abode on the rock of the citadel [a]. There ſtood the ancient town, which, though, from its ſituation, it was acceſſible only on the ſouth-weſt [b], was every where encompaſſed with walls which are ſtill remaining [c].

The circumference of the modern city is ſixty ſtadia ‡ [d]. The walls flanked with towers [e], and haſtily built in the time

* The 13th of March of the year 362 before J. C.

[z] Ariſtid. Panathen. t. i. p. 99.

† See the plan of the environs of Athens.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 22. p. 51. Wheeler. Voyag. du Lev. t. ii. p. 415.

[c] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 137. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 67.

‡ 2½ leagues.

[d] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13. Schol. ibid.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 17.

of Themiſtocles, exhibit on all ſides fragments of columns and ruins, confuſedly intermingled with the unſhapen materials employed in their conſtruction [f].

From the city run two long walls, one of which, thirty-five ſtadia in length *, terminates at the port of Phalerum; and the other, which is of forty ſtadia †, at that of the Piræus. They are almoſt entirely ſhut in at their extremity by a third of ſixty ſtadia [g]; and as they embrace not only theſe two harbours, and that of Munychiæ, which is in the middle, but a multitude of houſes, temples, and monuments of every kind [h], the entire circumference of the city may be eſtimated at near two hundred ſtadia ‡ [i].

To the ſouth-weſt, and cloſe to the citadel, is the rock of the Muſeum, ſeparated by a little valley from the hill on which the Areopagus holds its aſſemblies. Other eminences contribute to render the ſite of this city extremely uneven. From them proceed ſome feeble ſprings of water, but not ſufficient to ſupply the inhabitants [k]. This deficiency is remedied by wells and ciſterns, in which the water acquires a coolneſs which is anxiouſly ſought [l].

The ſtreets in general are deſtitute of regularity. The greater number of the houſes are ſmall and incommodious [m]. As for thoſe which are more magnificent, you can hardly get a glimpſe of their decorations, acroſs a court, or rather a long and narrow avenue [n]. Externally, every thing has the air of ſimplicity, and ſtrangers at firſt ſight ſeek in Athens itſelf for that city, ſo celebrated through the world [o]; but their admiration imperceptibly increaſes, when they attentively examine thoſe temples, thoſe porticos and public buildings, in

[f] Id. lib. 1. cap. 93.
* 1½ league.
† 1⅓ league.
[g] Id. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[h] Id. lib. 2. cap. 17. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 1 et 2.
‡ Above 7 leagues and a half.
[i] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 6. p. 87.
[k] Plat. in Lyſ. t. ii. p. 203. Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.
[l] Theoph. Char. cap. 20.
[m] Dicæarch. p. 8.
[n] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 8. v. 435. Didym. ib. Heſych. in Ἔνναι. Vitruv. lib. 6. cap. 10.
[o] Dicæarch. p. 8.

the embellishment of which all the arts have contended for the prize.

The Ilissus and the Cephisus meander around the city, and several public walks are laid out at no great distance from their banks. Further on, hills covered with olives, laurels, and vines, terminating in lofty mountains, form, as it were, a zone around the plain, which, to the southward, is bounded only by the sea.

Attica is a kind of peninsula of a triangular form. The coast opposite to the Argolis may extend in a right line about 357 stadia *; that which borders on Bœotia, 235 †; and that which looks towards Eubœa, 406 ‡. It contains 53,200 square stadia §, without including the isle of Salamis, which contains no more than 2,925 square stadia ‖.

This little country, every where intersected with rocks and mountains, is by nature extremely barren, and it is by dint of cultivation alone that it repays the husbandman for his labours; but laws, industry, and the remarkable purity of the air, have been so favourable to population, that Attica is at this day covered with villages and towns, of which Athens is the capital ¶.

The inhabitants of Attica are divided into three classes. The first comprehends the citizens; the second, the foreigners settled in the country; and the third, the slaves.

The slaves are distinguished into two sorts, the natives of Greece, and those brought from foreign countries. The former consist in general of those whom the fate of arms has thrown into the hands of a conqueror irritated by too obstinate a resistance [p]. The latter are brought from Thrace, Phrygia, Caria **, and the countries inhabited by barbarians [q].

* About 13 leagues and a half.
† Near 9 leagues.
‡ 15⅘ leagues.
§ 76 square leagues.
‖ About 4 square leagues.
¶ See the map of Attica.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 68.
** The foreign slaves were distinguished among the Greeks by the name of their respective nations; one was called *Carian*, another *Thrace*, &c.
[q] Euripid. in Alcest. v. 675.

Slaves of every age, ſex, and nation, form a conſiderable object of traffic throughout Greece. Merchants, eager after gain, are perpetually tranſporting them from one country to another. They heap them together like the vileſt merchandize in the market-place; and when a purchaſer appears, oblige them to dance a round, to enable him to judge of their powers and agility [r]. The price they fetch varies according to their talents. Some are valued at three hundred drachmas *, others at ſix hundred †[s]. Several ſell for much more. The Greeks who fall into the hands of pirates, are expoſed to ſale in the Grecian cities, and forfeit their freedom till they are able to pay a heavy ranſom [t]. Both Plato and Diogenes experienced this misfortune. The friends of the former paid three thouſand drachmas to redeem him ‡[u]. The latter remained in bondage, and taught the children of his maſter to be free and virtuous [x].

Throughout almoſt all Greece the number of ſlaves infinitely ſurpaſſes that of the citizens [y]. Almoſt every where the utmoſt exertions are obliged continually to be made to keep them in ſubjection [z]. Lacedæmon, by having recourſe to rigorous meaſures to force them to obedience, has often driven them to revolt. Athens, wiſhing to ſecure their fidelity by gentler methods, has made them inſolent [a].

It is eſtimated that there are about four hundred thouſand ſlaves in Attica [b]. Theſe cultivate the lands, conduct the manufactures, work the mines, labour at the quarries, and perform all the domeſtic offices in private houſes: for the law prohibits the maintenance of idle ſlaves; and thoſe who, born in a ſervile condition, are unable to apply themſelves to laborious occupations, endeavour to become uſeful by their

[r] Menand. ap. Harpocrat. in Κύκλοι.
* 270 livres (11l. 5s.)
† 540 livres (22l. 10s.)
[s] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896.
[t] Andoc. de Myſter. p. 18. Terent. Eunuch. act. 1. ſcen. 2.
‡ 2700 livres (112l. 10s.)
[u] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 20.
[x] Id. lib. 6. § 29.
[y] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[b] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.

addreſs, their talents, or application to the arts [c]. Some manufacturers employ upwards of fifty [d], and derive from them a conſiderable profit. In ſome of theſe works, one ſlave will give a clear annual produce of a hundred * [e], and in others of a hundred and twenty drachmas † [f].

Some there are who have merited their liberty by fighting for the republic [g], or by exhibiting ſuch proofs of zeal and attachment to their maſters as are ſtill celebrated as examples for the reſt [h]. When they are unable to obtain it by ſervices, they purchaſe it with a *peculium*, or private property they are permitted to amaſs [i], and which they employ in preſents to their maſters, on feſtive occaſions; as, for inſtance, when a child is born, or a marriage takes place in the family [k].

When eſſentially deficient in their duties, their maſters may load them with chains [l], condemn them to turn the millſtone [m], prevent them from marrying, or ſeparate them from their wives [n]; but on no account may they attempt their lives. When treated with cruelty, they are driven to deſertion, or to ſeek an aſylum at leaſt in the temple of Theſeus [o]. In this caſe, they require to be transferred to the ſervice of another leſs rigorous maſter [p], and ſometimes are ſo fortunate as to be able to withdraw themſelves from the yoke of the tyrant who oppreſſed them [q].

Thus have the laws provided for their ſafety; but when they are intelligent, or poſſeſſed of pleaſing talents, intereſt proves a more powerful protector than the laws. With ſuch endowments they enrich their maſters, and themſelves by retaining part of their earnings. Theſe profits accumulated,

[c] Ulpian. in Mid. p. 683.
[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 578. Demoſth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896.
* 90 livres (3l. 15s.)
[e] Demoſth. ibid.
† 108 livres (4l. 10s.)
[f] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 275.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 705.
[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.
[i] Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 15. p. 241.
[k] Terent. Phorm. act. 1. ſcen. 1.
[l] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.
[m] Terent. And. act. 1. ſcen. 3.
[n] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 844.
[o] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 12. p. 694.
[p] Plut. de Superſt. t. ii. p. 166.
[q] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 611. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 178. Athen. lib. 6. p. 266 et 267.

enable them to procure patrons, to live in the moſt unbecoming luxury, and to unite the inſolence of arrogant pretenſions with ſordidneſs of ſentiment [r].

Severe penalties are denounced againſt any man who ſhall ſtrike the ſlave of another, every act of violence being a crime againſt the ſtate [s]; and the ſlave being ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the free man by any external mark *, the outrage, but for this law, might fall on the citizen, whoſe perſon ſhould be ſacred [t].

When a ſlave is enfranchiſed, he does not paſs into the claſs of citizens, but into that of the foreign ſettlers, which is connected with the latter by liberty, and with that of the ſlaves by the ſmall portion of reſpect or influence it poſſeſſes in the ſtate.

This intermediate claſs, to the number of about ten thouſand [u], conſiſts of ſtrangers ſettled with their families in Attica [x], moſt of them exerciſing trades, or ſerving in the navy [y]; protected by, without participating in, the government; free, yet dependent; uſeful to the republic which fears them, becauſe ſhe dreads liberty detached from the love of country, and deſpiſed by a people at once proud and jealous of the diſtinctions annexed to the condition of a citizen [z].

They are obliged to ſelect from among the citizens, a patron to be reſponſible for their conduct [a], and to pay an annual tribute to the public treaſury of twelve drachmas † for the heads of families, and ſix drachmas ‡ for their children [b]. Their property is forfeited when they neglect complying with the former of theſe conditions, and their liberty when they

[r] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.

[s] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 610.

* The ſlaves were obliged to ſhave their heads (Ariſtoph. in Av. 912. Schol. ibid.); but they covered them with bonnets (Id. in Veſp 443). Their dreſs ſhould reach only to the knee, (Id. in Lyſiſ. 1153. Schol. ibid.); but many citizens wore garments of the ſame kind.

[t] Xenoph. ibid.

[u] Athen. lib. 6. p. 272.

[x] Harpocr. in Μέτοικ.

[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.

[z] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap 1.

[a] Harpoc. et Suid. in Προστάτης. Hyper. ap. Harpoc. in Ἄπορος.

† 10 livres 16 ſols (9 ſhillings.)

‡ 5 livres 8 ſols (4 ſhillings and ſixpence.

[b] Iſæus apud Harpocr. in Μέτοικ. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 4. § 55.

violate the latter [c]; but if they are fortunate enough to render any ſignal ſervices to the ſtate, they obtain an exemption from the tribute [d].

In religious ceremonies they are diſtinguiſhed from the citizens by particular functions. The men muſt carry part of the offerings, and their wives hold umbrellas over the free women [e]; they are expoſed likewiſe to the inſults of the people, and to degrading ſallies of raillery from the ſtage [f].

The republic has been known to adopt a great number of them into the claſs of citizens, when exhauſted by long wars [g]. But if by any clandeſtine practices they contrive to procure admiſſion into that reſpectable order, they are liable to a judicial proſecution, and ſometimes even to be ſold for ſlaves [h].

The freed men, admitted into this claſs, are ſubject to the ſame tribute, the ſame dependence, and the ſame humiliations. Thoſe who are born in ſervitude, never can become citizens [i]; and every patron, able in a regular courſe of juſtice to convict the ſlave he had enfranchiſed of ingratitude, is authorized inſtantly to load him anew with chains, ſaying to him: Be a ſlave, ſince thou knoweſt not how to live free [k].

The condition of the intermediate claſs begins to be more favourable [l]. For ſome time paſt they have been leſs inſulted, but they are not therefore better ſatisfied with their lot; for having obtained reſpect, they are now looking for diſtinctions, it being a painful ſituation to remain entirely without authority or influence in a city containing ſo many perſons of importance.

Here is a citizen by birth, who is born of a father and mother who are themſelves citizens [m]; but the child of an Athenian, who marries a foreign woman, is entitled only to the

[c] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 172.
[d] Id. p. 169.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 1. Periz. ibid. Harpocr. in Μίσθ. et in Σκαφ. Suid. et Heſych. in Σκαφ.
[f] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 507.
[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 216.
[h] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 134.
[i] Dion Chryſoſt. orat. 15. p. 239.
[k] Val. Maxim. lib. 2. cap. 6.
[l] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.
[m] Sam. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 138.

condition of his mother. This law was made by Pericles at a time when he was ſurrounded by children likely to perpetuate his family; and he carried it into execution with ſo much rigour, that near five thouſand perſons, excluded from the rank of citizens, were publicly ſold by auction. He violated it when he had only one ſon left, whoſe birth he had formerly declared illegitimate [n].

The citizens by adoption enjoy almoſt the ſame privileges as the natives. At firſt, when it was neceſſary to encourage the population of Attica, the title of citizen was beſtowed on every perſon who came to ſettle in that country [o]. When that neceſſity ceaſed, Solon granted it only to thoſe who ſhould bring with them their families, or to perſons who, exiled for ever from their country, came thither in ſearch of a ſecure aſylum [p]. At length it was promiſed to thoſe who ſhould render ſervices to the ſtate [q]; and as nothing can be more honourable than to excite the gratitude of an enlightened nation, no ſooner was this privilege offered as the reward of merit, than it became the object of the ambition even of ſovereigns, who reflected new luſtre on it when they ſucceeded, and ſtill greater when they were unable to obtain the diſtinction. It was formerly refuſed to Perdiccas king of Macedonia, who was worthy of the honour [r]; and ſince granted with more facility [s] to Evagoras king of Cyprus, Dionyſius king of Syracuſe, and other princes. It was ardently ſought after ſo long as the Athenians rigorouſly obſerved the laws to prevent its being too eaſily obtained; for by theſe laws it is not ſufficient that the candidate be adopted by a decree of the people; this decree muſt be confirmed by an aſſembly in which ſix thouſand citizens gave their ſuffrages by ballot;

[n] Plut. in Pericl. p. 172. Ælian. lib. 6. cap. 10. lib. 13 cap. 24. Suid. in Δημαρ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 716.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 2. Schol. ibid.

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

[q] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 861.

[r] Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Meurſ. de Fort. Athen. p. 1702.

[s] Epiſt. Phil. ad Athen. in Oper. Demoſth. p. 115. Iſocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 97.

and this double election may be objected to by the loweſt of the Athenians, and undergo the examination of a tribunal empowered to correct even the judgment of the people [t].

Theſe precautions, of late too much neglected, have not prevented perſons from attaining the rank of citizens, who have been a diſgrace to the title [u], and whoſe example will eventually juſtify ſtill more diſhonourable elections.

Among the citizens of Athens, it is eſtimated that there are twenty thouſand men able to bear arms [x].

All thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed by their wealth, birth, virtues, or knowledge [y], form here, as in almoſt every country, the principal claſs of citizens, who may be called the higher claſs.

This compriſes men of fortune, becauſe they ſupport the burdens of the ſtate; and the virtuous and enlightened, becauſe they chiefly contribute to its preſervation and glory. As for birth, it is reſpected, from a preſumption that it tranſmits from father to ſon more noble ſentiments, and a more ardent patriotiſm than can be found in vulgar minds [z].

Particular regard, therefore, is paid to families which claim their deſcent from the gods, the kings of Athens, or the ancient heroes of Greece; and ſtill more to the families whoſe founders have diſplayed examples of diſtinguiſhed virtue, filled the chief offices of magiſtracy, gained battles, or obtained crowns in the public games [a].

Some trace back their origin to the remoteſt ages. For more than one thouſand years paſt the houſe of the Eumolpidæ has been in poſſeſſion of the prieſthood of Ceres Eleu-

[t] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 875.

[u] Id. de Rep. Ordin. p. 126.

[x] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Philochor. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 67. Id. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 716. Cteſicl. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 272.

[y] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 368. Herald. Animadv. in Salm. Obſerv. lib. 3. p. 252.

[z] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 353. Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532.

[a] Plat. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 88. Ariſt. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 522.

finia [b], and that of the Eteobutadæ of the prieſthood of Minerva [c]; others have as extenſive pretenſions, and to give weight to them invent genealogies [d], which few take the trouble to invalidate. For this higher claſs form no diſtinct body; they enjoy no peculiar privilege nor precedency; but their education gives them a claim to the firſt places, and the public opinion facilitates their attaining them.

The city of Athens contains, excluſive of the ſlaves, upwards of thirty thouſand inhabitants [e].

CHAP. VII.

Meeting of the Academy.

I HAD now been ſome days at Athens, and had taken a rapid view of the curioſities it contains. When this ardour was ſomewhat abated, Apollodorus, my hoſt, propoſed to me to pay another viſit to the academy *.

We croſſed a quarter of the city called the Ceramicus, or Tile Grounds, and thence, going out by the gate Dipylon, we came into fields called likewiſe Ceramicus [f], and obſerved, as we went along, a number of tombs [g]; for no perſon is allowed to be buried in the city [h]. The citizens in general have their places of ſepulture at their country houſes [i], or in quarters allotted them without the walls. The Ceramicus is ſet apart for thoſe who have fallen in battle [k]. Among theſe tombs, we ſee thoſe of Pericles and ſome other Athenians who did not die in arms, but whom their country has thought deſerving of the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours [l].

[b] Heſych. in Εὐμολπ.
[c] Id. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐτεοβ.
[d] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 284.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 1124.
* See the plan of the academy.
[f] Meurſ. Ceram. Gem. cap. 19.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 29. p. 70.
[h] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Fam. lib. 4. epiſt. 12. t. vii. p. 139.
[i] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040. et Callicl. p. 1117.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 34.
[l] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 29. p. 71.

The academy is only at the diſtance of ſix ſtadia *[m] from the city. It is a large enclоſure of ground, formerly the property of a citizen of Athens named Academus [n]. At preſent it contains a gymnaſium, and a garden ſurrounded by walls [o], adorned with delightful covered walks [p], and embelliſhed by waters which flow under the ſhade of the plane and various other kinds of trees [q]. At the entrance is the altar of Love, and the ſtatue of that god [r]; and within, the altars of ſeveral other deities. Not far from hence Plato has fixed his reſidence, near a ſmall temple, which he has dedicated to the Muſes, and on a piece of ground belonging to himſelf [s]. He comes every day to the academy, where we found him in the midſt of his diſciples, and I inſtantly felt myſelf inſpired with that reſpect which every one muſt feel in his preſence [t].

Though about ſixty-eight years old, he ſtill retained a freſh and animated complexion. Nature had beſtowed on him a robuſt body. His long voyages had impaired his health; but this he had reſtored by a ſtrict attention to regimen [u]: and he was no otherwiſe affected than by a habit of melancholy; a habit common to him with Socrates, Empedocles, and other illuſtrious men [x].

He had regular features, a ſerious air [y], eyes full of mildneſs [z], an open forehead without hair [a], a wide cheſt, high ſhoulders [b], great dignity in his demeanour, gravity in his gait, and modeſty in the whole of his appearance [c].

He received me with as much ſimplicity as politeneſs, and pronounced ſo handſome an eulogium on the philoſopher A-

* A quarter of a league.

[m] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 196

[n] Heſych. et Suid. in Ἀκαδ.

[o] Suid. in τὸ Ἱππιάρχ.

[p] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

[q] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 1001.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 30.

[s] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 693. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 5 et 20. Id. in Speuſ. lib. 4. cap. 8. § 1.

[t] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 10.

[u] Senec. epiſt. 58.

[x] Ariſt. Probl. § 30. t. ii. p. 815. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434.

[y] Laert. lib. 3. § 28.

[z] Ælian ibid.

[a] Nearth. ap. Laert. lib. 3. § 4.

[b] Suid. in Πλάτ. Senec. epiſt. 58.

[c] Ælian. lib. 3. cap 19. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 361.

nacharſis, whoſe deſcendant I am, that I bluſhed at hearing the ſame name. He expreſſed himſelf ſlowly [d], but the graces and perſuaſion ſeemed to flow from his lips. As I became afterwards more particularly acquainted with him, his name will often appear in my narrative. I ſhall only here add a few particulars which I now learned from Apollodorus.

The mother of Plato, ſaid he, was of the ſame family with Solon, our legiſlator, and his father derived his deſcent from Codrus, the laſt of our kings [e], who died about ſeven hundred years ago. In his youth, painting, muſic, and the various exerciſes of the gymnaſium, employed the whole of his time [f]. As he was born with a vigorous and brilliant imagination, he compoſed dithyrambics, tried his powers in epic poetry, compared his verſes to thoſe of Homer, and burnt them * [g]. Imagining that the theatre might indemnify him for this ſacrifice, he wrote ſome tragedies; but, whilſt the actors were preparing them for repreſentation, he became acquainted with Socrates, ſuppreſſed his pieces, and devoted himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of philoſophy [h].

He now felt an ardent deſire to make himſelf uſeful to mankind [i]. The Peloponneſian war had deſtroyed every principle of virtue, and corrupted the public manners. The glory of reſtoring them excited his ambition. Agitated night and day by this ſublime idea, he waited with patience for the moment, when, inveſted with the functions of magiſtracy, he ſhould have it in his power to diſplay his zeal and talents; but the rude ſhocks the republic had met with in the latter years of the war, thoſe frequent revolutions which in ſo ſhort a time exhibited tyranny under forms daily more ter-

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d Laert. lib. 3. § 5.
e Id. ibid. § 1. Suid. in Πλάτ.
f Id. ibid. § 4 et 5.
* While throwing them into the fire, he parodied this verſe of Homer:
"*Vulcan, draw near, 'tis Thetis aſks your aid:*"
Varying it thus:
"*Vulcan, draw near, 'tis Plato aſks your aid.*"
Hom. Iliad. 18. v. 392. Euſtath. t. ii. p. 1149. Laert. lib. 3. § 4 et 5.
g Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 30.
h Laert. lib. 3. § 5.
i Plat. epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 324.

riſic, the death of Socrates, his maſter and his friend, and the reflections that ſuch a ſeries of events gave riſe to in his mind, ſoon convinced him that all governments labour under incurable diſorders; that the affairs of mortals, if we may ſo ſpeak, are deſperate; and that they will never know happineſs till philoſophy ſhall take them under her guidance [k]. Abandoning, therefore, his project, he reſolved to increaſe his ſtock of knowledge, and to dedicate his acquirements to the inſtruction of his country. With this view he travelled to Megara, into Italy, Cyrenaica, and Egypt, and wherever the human mind had made any progreſs in improvement [l].

He was about forty years of age [m] when he undertook his voyage to Sicily, to viſit mount Ætna [n]. Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, was deſirous of diſcourſing with him. The converſation turned on happineſs, juſtice, and real greatneſs. Plato having maintained that no human being could be ſo abject and wretched as an unjuſt prince, Dionyſius exclaimed in a rage, "You ſpeak like a dotard."—"And you like a tyrant," anſwered Plato. This retort had nearly coſt him his life. Dionyſius would not ſuffer him to go on board a galley returning into Greece, until he had made the captain promiſe to throw him into the ſea, or ſell him for a ſlave. He was ſold, ranſomed, and brought back to his country. Some time after, the king of Syracuſe, incapable of remorſe, but deſirous not to loſe the good opinion of the Greeks, wrote to him, and having requeſted him to ſpare him in his diſcourſes, received only this contemptuous anſwer: "I have not leiſure to remember Dionyſius [o]."

On his return, Plato entered on a mode of life from which he has never deviated. He has perſiſted in abſtaining from all public affairs, becauſe, according to him, we are no longer ca-

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[k] Plat. epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 326.
[l] Id. ibid. Cicer. de Finib. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. ii. p. 228. Laert. lib. 3. § 6. Quint. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 81.
[m] Plat. ibid. p. 324.
[n] Plat. in Dion. t. i. p. 959. Laert. lib. 3. § 18.
[o] Laert. lib. 3. § 19 et 21.

pable of being conducted to good, either by perſuaſion or by force[p]; but collecting the ſcattered rays of knowledge, which he found in the countries he has viſited, and reconciling, as far as is practicable, the opinions of preceding philoſophers, he has compoſed a ſyſtem which he explains in his writings and his conferences. His works are in the form of dialogues. Socrates is the principal interlocutor; and it is alleged, that, under the ſanction of his name, he has given the world many ideas which he himſelf has conceived or adopted[q].

His merit has created him enemies, and he has drawn others upon himſelf by the poignant irony ſcattered through his productions againſt ſeveral celebrated authors[r]. He puts it, it is true, into the mouth of Socrates; but the addreſs with which he handles it, and different anecdotes of him which might be adduced, prove, that, in his youth at leaſt, he had no ſmall propenſity to ſatire[s]. His enemies, however, do not diſturb that tranquillity which his ſucceſſes or his virtues maintain within his heart. For he really poſſeſſes virtues, ſome which he has received from nature, and others that he has had the courage to acquire. He was born impetuous; at preſent he is the mildeſt and moſt patient of men[t]. The love of glory or celebrity ſeems to me his predominant, or rather his only paſſion; and I am apt to think, that he experiences that jealouſy of which he is himſelf ſo frequently the object[u]. Difficult and reſerved towards thoſe who preſs forward in the ſame track, open and communicative to thoſe whom he himſelf conducts, he has lived with the other diſciples of Socrates on terms of reſtraint or enmity[x]; but with his own in the utmoſt familiarity and confidence, unremittingly attentive to their progreſs, as well as to their deficiencies, without weakneſs and without auſterity, directing their pro-

[p] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Famil. lib. 1. epiſt. 9. t. vii.
[q] Senec. epiſt. 6. Laert. l. 3. c. 35.
[r] Athen. lib. 11. p. 505.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] Senec. de Irâ, lib. 3. p. 114. Plut. t. ii. p. 10 et 551. Athen. lib. 2. p. 59.
[u] Athen. lib. 11. p. 506.
[x] Laert. lib. 3. cap. 34, &c.

penſities towards worthy objects [y], and correcting them by his example, rather than by his precepts [z]. On their ſide, his diſciples carry reſpect even to idolatry, and their admiration to fanaticiſm. Nay, you will ſee ſome of them affect high and round ſhoulders, that they may have ſome reſemblance to their maſter [a]: like the courtiers in Ethiopia, who, when the ſovereign has ſome defect in his perſon, ſcruple not to mutilate themſelves, to have the honour of ſimilitude [b]. Such are the leading features of his life and character. You will hereafter be better able to judge of his doctrine, his eloquence, and his daring and eccentric flights.

Apollodorus, as he concluded, perceived that I was looking with ſurpriſe at a tolerably handſome woman, who had introduced herſelf among the diſciples of Plato. Her name is Laſthenia, ſaid he; ſhe is a courteſan of Mantinea in Arcadia [c]; the love of philoſophy firſt brought her to this place; but ſhe is ſuſpected of being retained here by a paſſion for Speuſippus, Plato's nephew, who is ſitting by her [d]. He made me, at the ſame time, remark a young Arcadian girl, named Axiothea, who, after reading one of the dialogues of Plato, had quitted every thing, even to her female dreſs, to come and attend the lectures of this philoſopher [e]. He named other women to me, who had done the ſame by means of a ſimilar diſguiſe [f].

And who is that meagre, lank young man, ſaid I, near Plato, who liſps, and whoſe little eyes are full of fire [g]? That, replied he, is Ariſtotle of Stagira, ſon of Nicomachus the phyſician, and friend of Amyntas king of Macedon [h]. Nicomachus left a conſiderable fortune to his ſon [i], who came

[y] Plut. de Sanit. Tuend. t. ii. p. 135.
[z] Id. de Adulat. t. ii. p. 71.
[a] Id. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 26. et de Adulat. p. 53.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 146.
[c] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 46; in Speuſipp. lib. 4. § 2.
[d] Athen. l. 7. p. 279. l. 12. p. 546.
[e] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. cap. 46. Themiſt. orat. 23. p. 295.
[f] Menag. in Laert. p. 155.
[g] Laert in Ariſt. lib. 5. § 1. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 26.
[h] Suid. in Νικόμ.
[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 9.

to ſettle among us about five years ago, being then about ſeventeen or eighteen [k]. I know no perſon with ſo powerful an underſtanding, or more aſſiduous in his application. Plato diſtinguiſhes him from his other diſciples, and finds nothing to cenſure in him but too much attention to dreſs [l].

He whom you ſee near Ariſtotle, continued Apollodorus, is Xenocrates of Chalcedon, a heavy genius, and deſtitute of every thing pleaſing in his manner. Plato frequently exhorts him to ſacrifice to the graces. Of him and Ariſtotle he ſays, that the one has need of the rein, and the other of the ſpur [m]. Plato was one day informed that Xenocrates had ſpoken ill of him. I do not believe it, ſaid he. The perſon inſiſted on the truth of what he had affirmed, but he would not be convinced; proofs were offered: "No," replied he, "it is impoſſible that I ſhould not be beloved by one whom I love ſo affectionately [n]."

What is the name, ſaid I, of that other young man, who appears to be of ſo delicate a conſtitution, and who now and then ſhrugs up his ſhoulders [o]? That is Demoſthenes, ſaid Apollodorus. He is of a good family; his father, whom he loſt when ſeven years old, employed a conſiderable number of ſlaves in the manufacturing of ſwords, and furniture of different kinds [p]. He has juſt gained a law-ſuit againſt his guardians, who attempted to defraud him of part of his property, and pleaded his own cauſe, though he is ſcarcely ſeventeen [q]. His companions, jealous no doubt of his ſucceſs, give him the nickname of ſerpent [r], and laviſh other diſgraceful epithets on him, which he ſeems to draw upon himſelf by the harſhneſs that he manifeſts towards others [s]. He intends to devote himſelf to the bar, and with this view frequents the ſchool of

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[k] Apoll. ap. Laert. lib. 5. cap. 9 Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 728.

[l] Laert. lib. 5. cap. 1. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 19

[m] Id. in Xenocr. lib. 4. § 6.

[n] Val. Max. lib. 4. in extern. cap. 1.

[o] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.

[p] Demoſth in Aphob. 1. p. 896.

[q] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1. p. 895; et in Onetor. p. 921.

[r] Suid in Δημ. Æſchin. in Tim. p. 280. et de Falſ. Leg. p. 410.

[s] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 847.

Iſæus, rather than that of Iſocrates, the eloquence of the former appearing to him more nervous than that of the latter. Nature has given him a feeble voice, a difficult reſpiration, and a diſagreeable mode of utterance [t]; but ſhe has endowed him with one of thoſe determined minds which are only ſtimulated by obſtacles. His object in frequenting this place is at once to acquire the principles of philoſophy, and to improve himſelf in eloquence [u].

The three pupils you ſee near Demoſthenes are attracted by the ſame motive. The one is named Æſchinus; that young man who appears ſo florid and healthy [x]. Born in an obſcure condition, he exerciſed, in his childhood, not very honourable functions [y]; and, poſſeſſing a fine and ſonorous voice, was next brought upon the ſtage, where he appeared, however, only in ſubordinate characters [z]. His mind is not deſtitute of graces, and he cultivates poetry with ſome ſucceſs [a]. The name of the ſecond is Hyperides [b]. And that of the third, Lycurgus. The latter is of one of the moſt ancient families of the republic [c].

All thoſe whom Apollodorus had named to me have ſince diſtinguiſhed themſelves; ſome by their eloquence, others by their conduct, and almoſt all of them by a determined hatred of ſervitude. I ſaw many foreigners likewiſe, who liſtened with the deepeſt attention to the maxims of Plato concerning juſtice and liberty; but who, after diſplaying ſome virtues on their return, either attempted to enſlave, or actually ſucceeded in impoſing chains upon their country [d]; tyrants the more dangerous, as they were educated in the deteſtation of tyranny.

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[t] Id. ibid. p. 844.
[u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 20. t. i. p. 149. Id. in Brut. cap. 31. t. i. p. 363. Id. Orat. cap. 4. p. 423.
[x] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 840.
[y] Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 323. &c. Id. de Coronâ, p. 515 et 516.
[z] Vit Æſchin. p. 41. Plut. ibid.
[a] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 281.
[b] Plut. ibid. 848.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 841.
[d] Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 508.

Sometimes Plato would read his works to his diſciples [e]; at others he propoſed a queſtion to them, allowing them time to meditate, and accuſtomed them to define with accuracy the ideas they annexed to words [f]. He uſually gave his leſſons in the walks of the academy [g]; for he held walking to be more conducive to health than the violent exerciſes of the gymnaſium [h]. His former ſcholars, his friends, nay, even his enemies, often came to hear him, and others were attracted by the natural beauties of the place.

I ſaw a man arrive there, about five and forty [i], without ſhoes [k] or tunic, with a long beard, a ſtaff in his hand, a wallet over his ſhoulders, and a cloak [l], under which he held a live cock ſtripped of its feathers. This he threw into the middle of the aſſembly, ſaying, "Behold the man of Plato [m]," and inſtantly diſappeared. Plato ſmiled [n]. His diſciples murmured. Apollodorus ſaid to me: Plato had defined man to be a two-footed animal without feathers, and Diogenes has taken this method to ridicule the definition as inaccurate. I took this ſtranger, ſaid I, for one of thoſe importunate beggars to be met with in every opulent and poliſhed nation. He does indeed beg ſometimes, anſwered my companion, but not always from want. Obſerving my ſurpriſe increaſe, Let us ſit down ſaid he, under this plane tree; I will give you his hiſtory in a few words, and make you acquainted with ſome celebrated Athenians whom I ſee in the adjoining walks. We ſat down facing a tower, named after Timon the miſanthropiſt [o], and a riſing ground, covered with verdure and houſes, called Colonos [p].

About the time that Plato opened his ſchool at the academy, reſumed Apollodorus, Antiſthenes, another diſciple

[e] Laert. lib. 3. § 37.
[f] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 59.
[g] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 27. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 19.
[h] Plat. in Phæd. t. iii. p. 227.
[i] Laert. lib. 6. § 76 et 79.
[k] Dion. Chriſoſt. orat. 6. p. 89.
[l] Laert. ibid. § 22 et 23.
[m] Id. ibid § 40.
[n] Epicr. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 59.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 30.
[p] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 197.

of Socrates eſtabliſhed one likewiſe, on an eminence ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the city [q]. This philoſopher laboured, during his youth, to make an external diſplay of the moſt rigid virtue; and Socrates, penetrating his intentions, one day ſaid to him, Antiſthenes, I ſee your vanity through the rents in your garment [r]. His maſter had taught him that happineſs conſiſts in virtue; and he made virtue conſiſt in a contempt of riches and enjoyments [s]; and, to enforce his maxims, appeared in public, with a ſtaff, and wallet over his ſhoulders, like one of thoſe unhappy mendicants who expoſe their wretchedneſs to paſſengers [t]. The ſingularity of this ſight procured him diſciples, who remained attached to him for ſome time by his eloquence [u]. But the auſterities he preſcribed made them gradually diſappear, and, diſguſted at this deſertion, he ſhut up his ſchool [x].

Diogenes now made his appearance in this city. He had been baniſhed from Sinope, his native country, with his father, accuſed of diminiſhing the coin [y]. After a long reſiſtance [z], Antiſthenes imparted to him his principles, and Diogenes preſently gave them a greater extent. Antiſthenes ſought to correct the paſſions, Diogenes to deſtroy them. The wiſe man, to become happy, ſhould, according to him, render himſelf independent of fortune, of mankind, and of himſelf; of fortune, by braving alike her favours and caprices; of men, by diveſting himſelf of prejudices, and deſpiſing cuſtoms, and even laws, when not conformable to his underſtanding; of himſelf, by labouring to fortify his body againſt the rigour of the ſeaſons, and his mind againſt the allurements of pleaſure. He ſometimes ſays, "I am poor, a vagabond, without country, without aſylum, and compelled to live as I can from one day to another; but I oppoſe cou-

[q] Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6. § 13.
[r] Id. ibid. § 8.
[s] Id. ibid. § 3.
[t] Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6. § 13.
[u] Id. ibid. § 14.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 16
[y] Laert. in Diog. lib. 6. § 20.
[z] Id. ibid. § 21. Ælian. ibid.

rage to fortune, nature to the laws, and reaſon to the paſſions [a]." From theſe principles, which, in their reſpective conſequences, may lead men to the ſummit of perfection, or plunge them into every ſpecies of diſorder *, reſults a contempt for riches, honours, glory, the diſtinction of ranks, the decorum of ſociety, the arts and ſciences, and all the comforts and embelliſhments of life [b]. The man, created in the imagination of Diogenes, and whom he ſometimes goes in ſearch of with a lantern [c]; that being, foreign to every ſurrounding object, and inacceſſible to every thing that gratifies the ſenſes, who ſtyles himſelf a citizen of the world, though he claims not that relation to his native land; that man would be as wretched as unprofitable in poliſhed ſocieties, and never did exiſt even prior to their origin. Diogenes imagines he can diſcover ſome faint reſemblance of him among the Spartans: "I have found men no where," ſaid he, "but I have ſeen children at Lacedæmon [d]."

To repreſent in his own perſon the man of his idea, he has undergone the rudeſt trials, and emancipated himſelf from every ſpecies of conſtraint. You will ſee him ſtruggling againſt hunger, appeaſing it with the groſſeſt aliments, refuſing to gratify it at entertainments, where the table is covered with abundance; ſtretching out his hand for alms to paſſengers [e]; at night, ſhutting himſelf up in a tub; expoſing his body to the injuries of the weather, under the portico of a temple [f]; rolling himſelf in ſummer on the burning ſand, and in winter walking, with naked feet, amid the ſnow [g]; ſatisfying all the wants of nature in public, and in places frequented by the dregs of the people [h]; courageouſly braving

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 38. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 29.

* Antiſthenes and Diogenes were the founders of the Cynic ſchool, and this ſchool gave riſe to that of the Stoics. Cicer. de Orator. lib. 3. cap. 17. t. i. p. 295.

[b] Laert. lib. 6. § 28. 71. 72 et 73.

[c] Id. ibid. § 41.

[d] Id. ibid. § 27.

[e] Id. ibid. § 67.

[f] Id. ibid. § 22 et 23.

[g] Id. ibid. § 23 et 34.

[h] Id. ibid. § 22 et 66. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 19.

and ſupporting ridicule, inſults and injuſtice; acting in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, even in things the moſt indifferent; and daily exhibiting ſcenes which, whilſt they excite the contempt of ſenſible men, reveal but too plainly to their eyes the ſecret motives that influence his conduct. I one day ſaw him, during a ſevere froſt, embracing, half naked, a brazen ſtatue. A Lacedæmonian aſked him if he ſuffered pain. No, ſaid the philoſopher. What merit is there then in what you do? replied the Lacedæmonian [l].

Diogenes poſſeſſes depth of underſtanding, firmneſs of mind, and livelineſs of character. He delivers his doctrines with ſuch perſpicuity, and explains them with ſo much energy, that ſtrangers have been ſeen to liſten to him, and inſtantly abandon all to follow him [k]. Believing himſelf deſtined to reform mankind, he treats them without the ſmalleſt deference. His ſyſtem leads him to inveigh againſt vices and and abuſes, and his character unrelentingly to purſue thoſe who are guilty of them. He never ceaſes to attack them with the weapons of ſatire, and an irony a thouſand times more formidable. The freedom that reigns in his diſcourſes renders him agreeable to the people [l]. He is admitted into good company, which he ſerves to enliven by ready repartees [m], ſometimes happily hit off, and at all times frequent; for he heſitates at nothing. Young people court his company, to make trials of pleaſantry, and avenge themſelves of his ſuperiority by inſults [n], which he ſupports with the moſt mortifying tranquillity. I have often ſeen him reproach them with expreſſions and actions that put modeſty to the bluſh [o], which inclines me to believe that he has never himſelf been guilty of thoſe exceſſes his enemies impute to him [p]. His indecency lies rather in the manner than in the thing really offenſive to

i Plut. in Apophth. t. ii. p. 233.
k Laert. lib. 6. § 75.
l Id. ibid. § 43.
m Id. ibid. § 74.
n Id. ibid. § 33 et 41.
o Id. ibid. § 46, 47, 65, 66, &c.
p Plut. de Stoic. p. 1044. Laert. ibid. § 46 et 69.

good morals [q]. Eminent talents, great virtues, and prodigious efforts, will never make more of him than a ſingular man; and I ſhall always ſubſcribe to the judgment of Plato, who ſaid of him, "He is Socrates in a phrenzy [r]."

At this moment we ſaw a man paſs, who was walking ſlowly at a ſmall diſtance from us. He appeared to be about forty, and had a melancholy and penſive air, with his hand in his mantle [s]. Though his external appearance was extremely ſimple, Apollodorus flew to accoſt him with a reſpect mingled with admiration and ſenſibility; and returning to ſit down by me, That, ſaid he, is Phocion, a name that ſhould for ever awaken in your mind the idea of integrity itſelf [t]. His birth is obſcure [u], but his ſoul is truly ſublime. He early frequented the academy [x], where he imbibed thoſe ſublime principles which have ſince guided his conduct; principles engraven on his heart, and as immutable as that truth and juſtice from which they are derived.

On leaving the academy, he ſerved under Chabrias, whoſe impetuoſity he moderated, and who was in a great meaſure indebted to him for his victory at Naxos [y]. He has alſo found other opportunities to prove he poſſeſſes great military talents. In peace he cultivates a little farm [z], that would ſcarcely ſupply the wants of a man the moſt moderate in his deſires, but which furniſhes Phocion with a ſuperfluity, with which he alleviates the wants of others [a]. He lives there with a ſpouſe worthy of his love, becauſe ſhe merits his eſteem; he lives there contented with his lot, neither aſhamed nor vain of his poverty, courting no public employments [b], but accepting them to diſcharge their duties.

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[q] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 881.
[r] Ælian. lib. 14. cap. 33.
[s] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743.
[t] Nep. in Phoc. cap. 1. Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 47. lib. 4. cap. 16. Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1131.
[u] Ælian. lib. 12. cap. 43.
[x] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 743.
[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744.
[z] Nep. in Phoc. cap. 1.
[a] Suid. in Φωκ.
[b] Plut. ibid. 745.

You will never ſee him either laugh or weep [c], though he is happy and ſuſceptible; his ſtrength of mind is ſuperior to joy and grief. Be not diſmayed at the dark cloud that ſeems to hang over his eyes. Phocion is affable, humane, and indulgent to our foibles. He is rigid and ſevere only to thoſe who corrupt the public manners by their examples, or ruin the ſtate by their evil counſels [d].

I am happy that chance has, in ſo ſhort an interval, brought within your view Diogenes and Phocion. By comparing them, you will find that the former never makes a ſacrifice to philoſophy without puſhing it too far, and proclaiming it to the public; whilſt the latter neither ſtudies to diſplay nor to conceal his virtues. I ſhall go farther, and aſſert, that, at the firſt glance, you may decide which of the two men is the genuine philoſopher. Phocion's cloak, is as coarſe as that of Diogenes; but the cloak of Diogenes is ragged, and that of Phocion is not.

After Phocion came two Athenians, one of whom was remarkable for his majeſtic ſtature, and a commanding countenance [e]. That man, ſaid Apollodorus to me, is the ſon of a ſhoemaker [f], and a ſon-in-law of Cotys, king of Thrace [g]. His name is Iphicrates; the other is the ſon of Conon, who was one of the greateſt men of the age, and is named Timotheus.

Both of them, placed at the head of our armies, have, for a long ſeries of years, maintained the glory of the republic [h]; both have ſhown themſelves capable of uniting information with talents, reflection with experience, and ſtratagem with bravery [i]. Iphicrates more eſpecially diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſtrict diſcipline he introduced among our troops, by the prudence that directed his enterpriſes, and a ſcrupulous diffidence which has always kept him on his guard againſt the

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c Id. ibid. p. 743. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187.
d Id. ibid. p. 743 et 746.
e Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
f Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 186.
g Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
h Id. in Timoth. cap. 4.
i Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. cap. 9 et 10. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p 589.

enemy [k]. He was much indebted to his reputation; and, therefore, when marching againſt the Barbarians, he ſaid: "I am only afraid of one thing; that they have never heard of Iphicrates [l]."

Timotheus is more active [m], more patient, leſs ſkillful perhaps in forming projects, but endowed with more conſtancy and firmneſs when they are to be carried into execution. His enemies, to avoid acknowledging his merit, accuſed him of being lucky, and had him repreſented ſleeping under a tent, with Fortune hovering over his head, and collecting a round him cities taken in a net. Timotheus was ſhown the picture, and pleaſantly obſerved: "What ſhould I not do then were I awake [n]?"

Iphicrates has made ſome uſeful changes in the arms of the infantry [o]. Timotheus has often enriched the exhauſted treaſury with ſpoils taken from the enemy. It is true that he has alſo enriched himſelf [p]. The former has reſtored ſovereigns to their thrones [q]; the latter has compelled the Lacedæmonians to yield to us the empire of the ſea [r]. Both are endowed with the powers of oratory. The eloquence of Iphicrates is pompous and oſtentatious [s]; that of Timotheus more ſimple and perſuaſive [t]. We have erected ſtatues to them [u], and we ſhall one day perhaps ſend them into baniſhment.

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[k] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1. Plut. Apophth. t. ii p. 187.
[l] Plut. ibid.
[m] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 1.
[n] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 454. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187. Ælian. lib. 13. cap. 43.
[o] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p 360.
[p] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 1.
[q] Id. in Iphicr. cap. 3.
[r] Id. in Timoth. cap. 2.
[s] Plut. de Rep. Ger. t. ii. p. 813.
[t] Ælian. lib. 3. cap. 16.
[u] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 2. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 24.

CHAP. VIII.

The Lyceum.—Gymnaſia.—Iſocrates.—Paleſtræ.—Funerals of the Athenians.

ANOTHER day, at the inſtant that Apollodorus had called on me to propoſe a walk to the Lyceum, I ran to him, exclaiming, Do you know him?— Who? — Iſocrates. I have juſt been reading one of his harangues; I am enchanted with it. Is he ſtill alive? Where is he? What does he do?—He is in Athens, anſwered Apollodorus. He profeſſes eloquence. He is a celebrated man; I am acquainted with him. — I muſt ſee him to-day, this morning, this very inſtant.—We will call on him on our return from the Lyceum.

We paſſed by the quarter of the marſhes, and going out of the town by the gate of Ægeus, followed a path along the Iliſſus, which according to the difference of ſeaſons is an impetous torrent, or peaceful rivulet, and ruſhes along with violence, or glides gently, at the foot of an eminence that terminates Mount Hymettus. Its banks are pleaſing, and its waters generally pure and limpid [x]. In the environs we ſaw an altar dedicated to the muſes [y]; the place whence Boreas is ſaid to have carried off the beautiful Orithyia, daughter of king Erechtheus [z]; the temple of Ceres where the leſſer myſteries are celebrated [a]; and that of Diana, where a great number of goats are annually ſacrificed in honour of the goddeſs. Before the battle of Marathon, the Athenians had vowed to immolate as many of theſe animals as they ſhould find Perſians dead on the field. After the victory, perceiving that the performance of ſo inconſiderate a vow would ſoon exhauſt the flocks of Attica, they limited the number of victims to

[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. ii. p. 229. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 121.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 19. p. 45. Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 425.
[z] Plat. ibid. Pauſan. ibid.
[a] Steph. in Ἄγρα.

five hundred [b], with which the goddeſs was pleaſed to be contented.

Whilſt I was liſtening to theſe details, we diſcovered a number of peaſants running on the hill, and ſtriking on brazen veſſels, to attract a ſwarm of bees which had juſt left a hive [c].

Theſe inſects are extremely partial to Mount Hymettus, which they have filled with their colonies, and which is covered almoſt every where with wild thyme [d] and other odoriferous plants. But it is chiefly from the excellent thyme it produces [e], that they extract thoſe precious ſweets with which they compoſe a honey in high eſtimation throughout Greece [f]. It is of a white colour, verging towards yellow; it grows black when long kept, and always retains its fluidity [g]. The Athenians gather a vaſt quantity every year; and we may judge of the value they ſet upon it from the uſe made of it by the Greeks, who employ honey in their paſtry [h], as well as in their ragouts [i]. It is ſaid even to prolong life, and to be particularly ſalutary for aged perſons [k]. Nay, I have ſeen ſome diſciples of Pythagoras preſerve their health, though they took no other nouriſhment than a little honey [l].

Repaſſing the Iliſſus, we came into a road where the Athenians exerciſe themſelves in the courſe, and which conducted us to the Lyceum [m].

The Athenians have three gymnaſia appropriated to the education of youth [n]; that of the Lyceum, that of the Cy-

[b] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 301. Plut. de Herodot. Malign. t. ii. p. 862.

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 843.

[d] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 678. Plin. lib. 19. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 181.

[e] Antiph. apud Athen. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 28. Alex. apud eund. lib. 14. p. 652.

[f] Plin. lib. 11. cap. 13. t. i. p. 596. Id. lib. 21. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 243. Varro de Re Ruſtic. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 374. Colum. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 9. cap. 4.

[g] Geopon. lib. 15. cap. 7.

[h] Athen. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 109. Id. lib. 14. p. 646.

[i] Heſych. in Τάρος.

[k] Geopon. ibid.

[l] Athen. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 46. lib. 10. &c.

[m] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 476.

[n] Ulpian. in Timocr. p. 820.

noſarges [o], ſituated on an eminence ſo called, and that of the Academy. All three have been built at the expence of the government, without the walls of the city. The ſecond was formerly ſet apart for illegitimate children [p].

They are ſpacious edifices, ſurrounded by gardens, and a ſacred grove. The firſt entrance is by a ſquare court, two ſtadia in circumference [q], which is encompaſſed with porticos and buildings. On three of its ſides are lare halls, provided with ſeats, in which the philoſophers, rhetoricians, and ſophiſts, aſſemble their diſciples [r]. On the fourth, are rooms for bathing, and other practices of the gymnaſium. The portico facing the ſouth is double, to prevent the winter rains, driven by the wind, from penetrating into the internal part.

From this court you paſs into an encloſure likewiſe ſquare, ſhaded in the middle by ſome plane-trees. A range of porticos extends round three of the ſides. That which fronts the north has a double row of columns, to ſhelter thoſe who walk there in ſummer from the ſun. The oppoſite portico is called Xyſtus [s]. In the middle of this portico, and through its whole length, they have contrived a ſort of hollow way, about twelve feet wide and nearly two deep, where, ſheltered from the weather, and ſeparated from the ſpectators ranged along the ſides, the young ſcholars exerciſe themſelves in wreſtling. Beyond the Xyſtus is a ſtadium for foot races [t].

A magiſtrate, named the gymnaſiarch, preſides at the different gymnaſia of Athens. His office is annual, and conferred on him by the general aſſembly of the ſtate [u]. It is his duty to furniſh the oil made uſe of by the athletæ to give ſuppleneſs to their limbs [x]. He has under him, in each gym-

[o] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 791. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 24. Laert. lib. 6. § 13.
[p] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 760. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 112.
[q] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 11.
[r] Plat. Euthyp. t. i. p. 2. Iſocra. Panath. t. ii. p. 191. Demet. de Interp. § 111. Lucian. Dialog. Mort. t. i. p. 329.
[s] Xenoph. Œconom. lib. 5. p. 850.
[t] Vitruv. lib. 5 cap 11.
[u] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 544.
[x] Ulpian. in Leptin. orat. p. 575.

naſium, ſeveral officers, ſuch as the gymnaſtes, the paido-tribes, and others; ſome of whom maintain order among the youth, and others teach them different exerciſes. At the head of theſe are ten ſophroniſts, nominated by the ten tribes, to whom the ſuperintendance of the morals of the youth is more eſpecially committed [y], and all of whom muſt be approved by the Areopagus [z].

As it is of the greateſt importance that confidence and ſecurity ſhould prevail in the gymnaſium, as well as in all numerous aſſemblies, thefts committed there are puniſhed with death, when they exceed the value of ten drachmas [a].

The gymnaſia being deemed the aſylum of innocence and modeſty, Solon had prohibited the people from entering them, at the time when the ſcholars, celebrating a feſtival in honour of Mercury [b], were leſs under the eye of their preceptors; but this regulation has fallen into diſuſe [c].

The exerciſes practiſed there are ordained by the laws, ſubject to certain regulations, and animated by the commendations of the maſters, and ſtill more by the emulation that ſubſiſts among the diſciples. All Greece conſiders them as the moſt eſſential part of education, as they render men active, robuſt, and capable of ſupporting military labours, as well as the leiſure hours of peace [d]. Conſidered relatively to health, phyſicians preſcribe them with ſucceſs [e]. Of their great utility in the military art, it is impoſſible to give a higher idea, than by citing the example of the Lacedæmonians. To theſe exerciſes were they indebted for thoſe victories which once made them ſo formidable to other nations; and, in later times, in order to conquer, it was firſt neceſſary to equal them in the gymnaſtic diſcipline [f].

[y] Stob. Serm. 5. p. 77.
[z] Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 367.
[a] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 791.
[b] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 262
[c] Plat. in Lyſ. t. ii. p. 204 et 206.
[d] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 901.
[e] Hippocr. de Diæt. lib. 2. t. i. cap. 39, &c. lib. 3. cap. 25.
[f] Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 452. Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 639.

But if the advantages reſulting from this inſtitution be eminent, its abuſes are not leſs dangerous. Medicine and philoſophy both concur in condemning theſe exerciſes, when they exhauſt the body, or give more ferocity than courage to the mind [g].

The gymnaſium of the Lyceum has been ſucceſſively enlarged and embelliſhed [h]. The walls are enriched with paintings [i]. Apollo is the tutelary deity of the place. His ſtatue is at the entrance [k]; and the gardens, ornamented with beautiful alleys, were reſtored in the laſt years of my reſidence in Greece [l]. Thoſe who walk there are invited to reſt themſelves, by ſeats placed under the trees [m].

After having been preſent at the exerciſes of the young men, and paſſing a few minutes in the public halls, where important and frivolous queſtions were alternately diſcuſſed, we took the road leading from the Lyceum to the Academy, along the walls of the city [n]. We had proceeded but a little way before we met with a venerable old man, whom Apollodorus ſeemed particularly glad to ſee. After the firſt compliments, he inquired whither he was going. The old man anſwered, in a ſhrill tone of voice, I am going to dine at Plato's, with Ephorus and Theopompus, who are waiting for me at the gate of Dipylon.—That is exactly in our road, replied Apollodorus, we ſhall have the pleaſure of your company. But, tell me, do you ſtill continue then to love Plato [o]?—As much as I flatter myſelf I am beloved by him. Our intimacy, which originated in our childhood, has never ſuffered the ſmalleſt diminution. He has not forgotten it in one of his dialogues, in which he introduces Socrates ſpeak-

[g] Hippocr. ibid. lib. 3. t. i. cap. 28. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 410. Ariſt. de Rep. ib. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 151.

[h] Theopomp. et Philoch. ap. Suid. in Λύκ., Harpocr. in Λύκ. Pauſan. lib. i. cap. 29. p. 75.

[i] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 425.

[k] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 887. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 19. p. 44.

[l] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 841.

[m] Lucian. ibid. p. 895.

[n] Plat. in Lyſ. t. ii. p. 203.

[o] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 8.

ing of me in moſt honourable terms [p].—That praiſe was due to you. Every one remembers, that at the death of Socrates, whilſt his diſciples took to flight in conſternation, you ventured to appear in mourning in the ſtreets of Athens [q]. And but a few years before you had given another example of firmneſs. When Theramenes, proſcribed by the thirty tyrants, in full ſenate, took refuge by the altar, you roſe up in his defence; and was not he himſelf obliged to entreat you to ſpare him the affliction of ſeeing you periſh with him [r]? The old man ſeemed delighted with this eulogium. I was impatient to learn his name, but Apollodorus took a pleaſure in concealing it from me.

Son of Theodorus, ſaid he to him, are not you of the ſame age with Plato?—I am ſix or ſeven years older [s]; he muſt only be in his ſixty-eighth year.—You appear to be in good health.—Excellent; I am as well in body and mind as it is poſſible to be [t].—They ſay you are very rich [u]?—I have acquired by my application enough to ſatisfy the deſires of a wiſe man [x]. My father had a manufactory of muſical inſtruments [y]. He was ruined in the Peloponneſian war, and leaving me no inheritance but an excellent education, I was under the neceſſity of living by my literary acquirements, and by turning to account the leſſons I had received from Gorgias, Prodicus, and the ableſt orators of Greece. I drew up pleadings for ſuch as were not able to defend their own cauſes [z]. A diſcourſe which I addreſſed to Nicocles, king of Cyprus, procured me a preſent from him of twenty talents * [a]. I opened a courſe of public lectures on oratory, and the number of my diſciples daily increaſing, I have reaped the fruit of labours which have employed every moment of my life.—

[p] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii p. 278.
[q] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 836.
[s] Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. cap. 4. Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 836.
[t] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
[u] Dionyſ. Halic. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 537.
[x] Iſocr. ibid.
[y] Plut. ibid. Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 534.
[z] Cicer. in Brut. t. i. p. 346.
* 108,000 livres (4,500l.)
[a] Plut. ibid. p. 838.

Admit, however, that notwithſtanding the ſeverity of your manners, you have found time to dedicate ſome of theſe moments to pleaſure. You had formerly the handſome Metanira, and in a more advanced age took to your houſe a no leſs amiable courteſan [b]. The world then ſaid of you that you knew how to reconcile the maxims of philoſophy with the refinements of voluptuouſneſs, and talked of that ſumptuous bed you procured to be made, and of thoſe pillows which exhaled ſo delicious an odour [c]. The old man, ſmiling, did not deny theſe facts.

Apollodorus continued: You have an amiable family, good health, an eaſy fortune, and numberleſs diſciples; your name you have rendered illuſtrious, and your virtues rank you among our moſt reſpectable citizens [d]; with ſo many advantages you muſt be the happieſt man in Athens.—Alas! anſwered the old man, I am perhaps the moſt wretched of mortals. All my plan of happineſs conſiſted in obtaining authority and influence in the ſtate; but as, on the one hand, it is impoſſible to acquire weight in a democracy without taking part in public affairs, and Nature, on the other, has given me but a feeble voice, and exceſſive timidity [e], it has ſo happened that, with a capacity every way equal to the diſcernment of the true intereſts of the ſtate, but incapable of defending them in the general aſſembly, I have been always violently tormented with the ambition and impoſſibility of being uſeful, or, if you will, of obtaining influence [f]. The Athenians receive leſſons of eloquence from me gratuitouſly; foreigners for one thouſand drachmas. I would give a million to the man who could procure me a proper portion of courage with a ſonorous voice [g].—But you have repaired the

[b] Lyſ. Hermip. et Strat. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 592.
[c] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 839.
[d] Iſocr Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
[e] Iſocr. Epiſt. ad Phil. t. i. p. 270. Id. Epiſt. ad Mityl. t. i. p. 487. Cic. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. i. p. 194.
[f] Iſocr Panath. t ii. p. 185.
[g] Plut. X. Orat. Vit t. ii. p. 838.

injuries of Nature; by your writings you inſtruct that public you cannot reach with your oratory, and who are unable to refuſe you their eſteem.—And what ſignifies to me the eſteem of others, if I cannot obtain my own? I ſometimes carry the mean idea I entertain of my own abilities even to contempt [h]. What advantage have I derived from them? Have I ever been able to obtain public employments, the offices of magiſtracy, or the applauſe and honours which I daily ſee beſtowed on thoſe baſe orators who betray the ſtate [i]? Though my panegyric on Athens made thoſe rhetoricians bluſh who had before treated the ſame ſubject, and diſcouraged others from again attempting it [k], I have always ſpoken of my ſucceſſes with modeſty, or rather with humility [l]. My intentions are pure; I have never, either by writings or accuſations, done injury to any man; yet I have enemies [m].—What then! muſt not you expect to pay the tribute of your merit by ſome diſquietudes? Your enemies are more to be pitied than yourſelf. An unwelcome voice perpetually reminds them that kings, generals, ſtateſmen, hiſtorians, and authors in every branch of literature, are numbered among your diſciples [n]; that whole colonies of learned and ingenious men from time to time iſſue from your ſchool, who ſpread your doctrines far and wide; that you govern Greece by your pupils [o]; and, to make uſe of your own expreſſion, that you are the ſtone that whets the inſtrument.—True; but it is not the ſtone that cuts [p].

But envy, added Apollodorus, cannot at leaſt deny that you have promoted and improved the art of oratory [q].—Yet this is the merit of which they likewiſe wiſh to rob me. Every day a ſet of audacious ſophiſts, and ungrateful teach-

h Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 184.
i Id. ibid. p. 189.
k Iſocr. de Antid. t. ii. p. 404.
l Id. Panath. t. ii. p. 192.
m Id. de Antid. p. 386, 390, &c.
n Id. ibid. p. 388.
o Cicer. Orat. cap. 13. t. i. p. 429. Dionyſ. Halicar. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 536.
p Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.
q Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 22 p. 214. Id. Orat. cap. 13. p 429. cap. 52. p. 464. Naucrat. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 44. p. 321.

ers, after inculcating on their ſcholars precepts and examples borrowed from my writings, renew their attacks on my reputation with redoubled ardour. They employ themſelves on ſubjects that I have handled, and aſſembling around them their partizans, compare their diſcourſes with mine, which they have taken the precaution to metamorphoſe, and are mean enough to diſfigure in the recital. Such cruel ingratitude wounds me to the quick [r]. But I perceive Ephorus and Theopompus. I am going to accompany them to Plato's, and muſt take my leave of you.

The inſtant he was gone, turning haſtily round to Apollodorus, I aſked him; Who then is this old man, at once ſo modeſt and ſo vain; ſo wretched, though poſſeſſing ſo many of the eſſentials of happineſs? This is Iſocrates, ſaid he, whom we were to viſit on our return. By my queſtions I led him on to trace out to you the leading features of his life and character. You have ſeen that he twice gave proofs of courage in his youth. This effort, apparently, exhauſted the vigour of his mind; for he has paſſed the remainder of his days in apprehenſion and chagrin. The very ſight of the roſtrum, which he has prudently renounced, gives him ſuch uneaſineſs, that he no longer attends at the general aſſemblies [s]. He imagines himſelf ſurrounded by enemies and envious perſons, becauſe a cabal of authors whom he deſpiſes judge leſs favourably of his writings than himſelf. It is his fate to be perpetually in the purſuit of fame, and never to know repoſe [t].

Unfortunately for him, his works abounding in other reſpects with great beauties, furniſh powerful weapons for criticiſm; his ſtyle is pure and fluent, full of ſoftneſs and harmony, ſometimes pompous and magnificent, but occaſionally

[r] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 190. Id. Epiſt. ad Philip. t. i. p. 277.

[es] Plut. X. Orat. Vit. t. ii. p. 838.

[t] Iſocr. Panath. t. i. p. 184 et 187.

languid, diffuſe, and overcharged with ornaments, by which it is disfigured [u].

His eloquence is not calculated for the diſcuſſions of popular aſſemblies, nor for the bar [x]; its object is to ſoothe the ear rather than to affect the heart. It is painful to ſee ſo eſtimable an author often ſink into the mere ſonorous writer, reducing his art to the ſingle merit of eloquence [y]; laboriouſly ſubjecting his thoughts to words [z]; avoiding the concourſe of vowels with a puerile affectation [a]; attentive only to the rounding of his periods, and, as his only reſource to produce ſymmetry in their component members, driven to fill them up with redundant words and miſplaced figures [b]. As he does not ſufficiently diverſify his ſtyle, his reader at laſt becomes cold and diſguſted. He is a painter who gives the ſame drapery and the ſame attitudes to all his figures [c].

His diſcourſes generally turn on the moſt important topics of morals and politics [d]. He neither perſuades nor carries his reader along with him, for he does not write with warmth, and ſeems more attentive to his art than the truths he is announcing [e]. Hence, poſſibly it happens that ſovereigns, of whom he has in ſome ſort made himſelf the legiſlator [f], have replied to his counſels by rewards. He has compoſed, on the duty of kings, a little work, which he has procured to be circulated through every court. It was ſent to Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe [g], who admired the author, and eaſily pardoned him leſſons from which he felt no remorſe.

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[u] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. i. p. 286 Dionyſ. Halic. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 537.

[x] Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. t. v. p. 539. Cicer. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p 429.

[y] Ariſt. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 35 t. i p. 313.

[z] Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 558.

[a] Quintil. lib. 9. cap 4. p. 593. Dionyſ Halic. ibid p 538 Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. § 68.

[b] Cic. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 429. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 540. Hermog. de Form lib 2. p 388.

[c] Philon. ap. Dion. Halic. de Iſocr. t. v. p. 559.

[d] Dionyſ. Halic. ibid. p. 535.

[e] Hermog. de Formis, lib. 1. p. 294. et lib. 2. p. 388.

[f] Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 55. Aphton. Progymn. p. 4.

[g] Iſocr. Orat. ad Phil. t. i. p. 269. Socratic. Epiſt. p. 66.

Iſocrates has grown old in compoſing, poliſhing, repoliſhing, and recompoſing a very inconſiderable number of works. His panegyric of Athens is ſaid to have coſt him ten years application [h]. Whilſt employed in this laborious ſtructure, he did not perceive that he was erecting it on foundations which muſt inevitably occaſion its ruin. He lays it down as a principle, that it is the nature of eloquence to magnify little things, and to diminiſh great ones; and afterwards endeavours to prove that the Athenians have rendered more ſervice to Greece than the Lacedæmonians [i].

Notwithſtanding theſe faults, to which his enemies add many others, his writings preſent us with ſo many happy turns, and ſalutary maxims, that they will always ſerve as models for thoſe who are qualified to ſtudy them. He is an able rhetorician, deſtined to form excellent writers, and an enlightened teacher, attentive to the improvement of his diſciples, and to the character of their genius. Ephorus of Cumæ, and Theopompus of Chios, who have juſt taken him from us, have had a happy experience of this. After inſpiring the firſt with energy, and repreſſing the impetuoſity of the latter [k], he has recommended to them both to write hiſtory [l], and their firſt eſſays do honour to the ſagacity of the maſter, and the abilities of the pupils.

Whilſt Apollodorus was informing me of theſe particulars, we croſſed the forum. He then conducted me by the ſtreet of the Hermæ, and brought me into the palæſtra of Taureas, facing the Royal Portico [m] *.

As Athens poſſeſſes different gymnaſia, it contains likewiſe ſeveral palæſtræ. In the former of theſe ſchools youth purſue their exerciſes; the latter are ſet apart for athletæ by pro-

[h] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 350. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 4. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1455.

[i] Longin. de Subl. § 38.

[k] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 9. t. i. p. 288. Idem de Clar. Orat. cap. 56. p. 383. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 105. Suid. in Ἔφορ.

[l] Id. lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 207.

[m] Plut. in Charmid. t. ii. p. 153.

* See plan of the palæſtra.

feſſion. We ſaw a number of theſe who had carried off the prizes in the games inſtituted in the different cities of Greece, and others who were aſpiring to the ſame honours. Many Athenians, and even old men [n], aſſiduouſly reſort thither, to continue their exerciſes, or be ſpectators of the combats.

The palæſtræ are nearly of the ſame form with the gymnaſia. We viſited the apartments appropriated to all the ſpecies of baths; thoſe where the wreſtlers leave their clothes, where they rub their bodies with oil to render their limbs ſupple, and where they roll themſelves in the ſand in order to give their antagoniſts a hold [o].

Wreſtling, leaping, tennis, and all the exerciſes of the Lyceum, were here repeated before us with greater varieties, and with more ſtrength and ſkill on the part of the performers.

Among the different groups before us, we diſtinguiſhed men of the moſt perfect beauty, and worthy of ſerving as models for artiſts; ſome with vigorous and boldly marked outlines, as Hercules is repreſented; and others of a more ſlim and elegant ſhape, as Achilles is deſcribed. The former, devoting themſelves to wreſtling and boxing, had no object but to increaſe their bodily ſtrength [p]; the latter, educated to leſs violent exerciſes, ſuch as running, leaping, &c. confined themſelves to acquirements of agility.

Their regimen is ſuited to the different exerciſes for which they are deſigned. Some of them abſtain from women [q] and wine; others lead a very abſtemious life; but thoſe who make laborious exertions, ſtand in need of a great quantity of ſubſtantial food, ſuch as roaſted beef and pork, to reſtore their ſtrength [r]. If they require only two minæ a day, with bread in proportion, they give a very favourable idea of their

[n] Id. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.
[o] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. Hiſt. p. 99.
[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 410.
[q] Id. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 840.
[r] Hipp. Epid. lib. 5. t. i. p. 788. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 411. Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1028. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. p. 221.

temperance [s]. But ſeveral are mentioned who have made a terrible conſumption of proviſions. Theagenes of Thaſos, for inſtance, is ſaid to have eaten a whole ox in a day [t]. The ſame exploit is attributed to Milo of Crotona, whoſe uſual quantity of food for a day was twenty minæ of meat, as many of bread *, and three congii of wine † [u]. It is ſaid likewiſe that Aſtydamas of Miletus, when at the table of Ariobarzanes the Perſian ſatrap, devoured alone the ſupper prepared for nine gueſts [x]. Theſe ſtories, no doubt exaggerated, prove at leaſt the idea generally entertained of the voracity of this claſs of wreſtlers. When they are able to gratify it without danger, they acquire extraordinary ſtrength: their ſtature becomes ſometimes gigantic, and their adverſaries, ſtruck with terror, either decline entering the liſts, or ſink under the weight of their enormous bodies.

They are ſo oppreſſed by exceſs of nutriment as to be obliged to paſs part of their lives in a profound ſleep [y], and ſoon become ſo extremely corpulent as to be no longer known to be the ſame perſons [z]: this is ſucceeded by diſorders which render them as wretched, as they have always been unſerviceable to their country [a]; for it cannot be denied that wreſtling, boxing, and all thoſe combats diſputed with ſo much fury and obſtinacy in the public ſolemnities, are no longer any thing but oſtentatious exhibitions, ſince tactics have been brought to perfection. Egypt at no time adopted them, as they give only a temporary ſtrength [b]. Lacedæmon has corrected their inconveniences by the wiſdom of her inſtitutions. In the other ſtates of Greece men have diſcovered that, by ſubjecting their children to them, they incur the riſk of in-

[s] Galen. de Dignot. Pulſ. lib. 2. cap. 2. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 221, &c.

[t] Poſeidip. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 412.

* About 18 pounds.

† About 15 French pints (or Engliſh quarts nearly).

[u] Theodor. ap. Athen. ibid.

[x] Athen. ibid. p. 413.

[y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 404.

[z] Ariſtot. de Gener. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 1121.

[a] Euripid. ap. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 413.

[b] Died. Sic. lib. 1. p. 73.

juring their ſhape, and preventing their growth [c]; and that, in a more advanced age, profeſſed wreſtlers never make good ſoldiers, becauſe they are unable to ſupport hunger, thirſt, watching, the ſmalleſt wants, or the moſt trifling deviation from their uſual habits [d].

On coming out of the palæſtra, we learned that Telaira, the wife of Pyrrhus, a relation and friend of Apollodorus, had been ſuddenly taken ill, and that her life was in imminent danger; the branches of laurel and acanthus, which it is cuſtomary to ſuſpend at the houſe of a ſick perſon, had been ſeen at her door [e]. We immediately haſtened thither, and found the relations of the family crowding around her bed, and addreſſing prayers to Mercury, the conductor of departed ſpirits [f], while the unhappy Pyrrhus was taking his laſt farewell of his affectionate wife [g]. With difficulty he was forced away from this ſcene. We ſtrove to remind him of the leſſons which he had received at the academy, thoſe leſſons ſo ſpecious in proſperity, but ſo impertinent in affliction. "O philoſophy," exclaimed he, "yeſterday thou commandedſt me to love my wife, to day thou forbiddeſt me to lament her [h]!" Yet after all, ſaid we to him, your tears cannot reſtore her to life. "Alas!" replied he, "that reflection only makes them flow faſter [i]."

As ſoon as ſhe expired, the whole houſe reſounded with cries and lamentations. The body was waſhed, perfumed with odoriferous eſſences, and clothed in a coſtly garment [k]. On her head, which was covered with a veil, was placed a chaplet of flowers [l]; in her hands a cake of flower and honey,

[c] Ariſtot. lib. 8. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 432.
[d] Plut. in Philop. t. i. p. 357.
[e] Laert. in Bion. lib. 4. § 57. Etymolog. Magn. in Ἀπαφή. Boeth. in Theophr. Hiſt Plant lib. 3. cap 17 p. 258.
[f] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 24. v. 9. Etymolog. Magn. in Ἑρμῆς.
[g] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 391.
[h] Stob. Serm. 97. p. 539.
[i] Id. Serm 122. p. 613.
[k] Homer, Iliad. lib. 24. v. 587. Id. in Odyſſ. lib. 24. verſ. 44. Euripid. in Phœniſſ. v. 1626, et 1329. Id. in Alceſt. v. 158. Sophocl. in Electr. v. 1145. Lucian. de Luct. t. ii. p. 926.
[l] Euripid. in Hippol. v. 1458.

to appeaſe Cerberus [m]; and in her mouth a piece of money, of the value of one or two oboli, to pay Charon [n]; and in this ſtate ſhe lay expoſed for a whole day in the veſtibule of the houſe. At the door ſtood a veſſel of luſtral water, to purify thoſe who might touch the corpſe [o].

This expoſure is deemed neceſſary to aſcertain that the perſon is really deceaſed [p], and died a natural death [q]. It is ſometimes continued even to the third day [r].

The time of the funeral was announced; which we were obliged to attend before ſun riſe [s], the laws prohibiting the choice of any other hour, that a ceremony ſo mournful may not degenerate into a ſcene of oſtentation. The friends and relations were invited [t]. We found women about the coffin making loud lamentations [u]; ſome of whom cut off locks of their hair, and laid them by the ſide of Telaira, as pledges of their affection and grief [x]. The body was placed on a car, in a coffin of cypreſs wood [y]. The women followed the corpſe; the men walked before it [z], ſome with their heads ſhaved, but all with downcaſt eyes, and clothed in black [a]. They were preceded by a band of muſicians, who played and ſung melancholy airs [b]. We afterward repaired to a houſe belonging to Pyrrhus near Phalerum, where the aſhes of his anceſtors were depoſited [c].

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[m] Ariſtoph in Lyſiſt. v. 601. Schol. ib. Id. in Eccleſ. v. 534.

[n] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 140. Schol. ib. v. 272. Lucian. ibid. Epigr. Lucil. in Anthol. p. 268.

[o] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 100. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 1025. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 7 § 65. Heſych in Ἀφὸ. Caſaub in Theophraſt. cap. 16.

[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 12. p. 959.

[q] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 7. § 65.

[r] Jungerm. in Poll. lib. 8. cap. 14. § 146.

[s] Demoſt. in Macart. Callim. Epigr. in Anthol lib. 3. p. 377.

[t] Ariſtot. de Morib. lib. 9. cap. 2 t. ii. p. 118.

[u] Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 103.

[x] Id. v. 102. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 1192 Kirchm. de Funerib. lib. 2. cap. 13 et 15.

[y] Thuc. d. lib. 2. cap. 34.

[z] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1037. Lyſ. de Cæde Eratoſt. p. 5. Terent. in Andr. act. 1. ſcen. 1 v. 90.

[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449. Euripid. Iphig. in Aul. v. 1438 et 1449.

[b] Homer. Iliad. lib. 24. v. 721. Euſtath p. 1372. Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 800. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 3. p. 619

[c] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040. Id. in Callicl. p. 1117.

The practice of interring dead bodies was anciently common to moſt nations [d], that of burning them has in later times prevailed among the Greeks [e]; at preſent it ſeems to be conſidered as a matter of indifference whether we reſtore our remains to the earth, or commit them to the flames [f]. The body of Telaira was laid on a pile, and when conſumed, the neareſt relations collected the aſhes [g], and buried the urn which contained them in the ground.

During the ceremony, libations of wine were made. Some of the garments of Telaira were thrown into the fire, while her name was invoked aloud [h]; and this eternal valediction redoubled thoſe tears which had never ceaſed to flow from every eye.

We were next ſummoned to the funeral repaſt, where the converſation turned on the virtues of Telaira [i]. On the ninth and thirtieth days, her relations, habited in white, and crowned with flowers, again aſſembled to pay new honours to her manes [k]; and it was reſolved that they ſhould meet annually, on her birth-day, to lament her loſs, as if it were ſtill recent. This affectionate anniverſary is frequently perpetuated in a family, in a ſociety of friends, and among the diſciples of the ſame philoſopher [l]. The regret teſtified on theſe occaſions is renewed at the general feſtival of the dead, which is celebrated in the month Antheſterion * [m]. I have more than once likewiſe ſeen individuals approach a tomb, leave there a part of their hair, and make around it libations of water, wine, milk, and honey [n].

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[d] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. c. 22. t. iii. p. 155. Kirchm. de Funer. l. 1. c. 2.

[e] Homer. paſſim. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 52. Terent. in Andr. act. 1. ſcen. 1. Lucian. de Luct. c. 21. t. ii. p. 932.

[f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 115.

[g] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 352. Id. lib. 24. v. 793.

[h] Id. lib. 23. v. 221.

[i] Id. lib. 24. v. 802. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 520. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.

[k] Iſæus de Cyron. Hæred. p. 73. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 19. § 102. Id. lib. 1. cap. 7. § 66. Id. lib. 8. cap. 14. § 146. Jungerm. ibid.

[l] Meurſ. Græc. Fer. in Τελεῖα.

* Correſponding with our months of February and March.

[m] Meurſ. Græc. Fer. in Ἀνθεστήρια.

[n] Pott. Archæol. lib. 4. cap. 5. et 8.

Leſs attentive to the origin of theſe rites than to the ſentiment by which they are preſerved, I could not but admire the wiſdom of the ancient legiſlators, who taught that ſepulture and its attendant ceremonies are to be conſidered as things ſacred. They encouraged that ancient opinion, that the ſoul, having left its habitation the body, is ſtopped on the banks of the Styx, tormented with the deſire of reaching the place of its deſtination, and that it appears in dreams to the ſurvivors, who ſhould intereſt themſelves in its fate, until they ſhall have withdrawn its mortal relics from the eye of day, and the injuries of the weather [o].

Hence that anxiety to procure it the deſired repoſe; hence the injunction impoſed on the traveller to cover with earth a corpſe which he may find upon his road [p]; and hence the profound veneration in which tombs are held, and the ſevere laws againſt all who violate them.

Hence alſo the ceremonies practiſed with reſpect to thoſe who are ſwallowed up in the waves, or die in foreign countries, when it is impoſſible to recover their bodies. Their companions, previous to their departure, thrice invoke them with a loud voice, and, by ſacrifices and libations, flatter themſelves that they have brought back their manes [q], to which they ſometimes erect cenotaphs, a kind of funeral monuments held in almoſt equal veneration with tombs.

Among the citizens who enjoyed an eaſy fortune when alive, ſome, conformably with ancient uſage, have only a ſmall column erected over their aſhes, with their name inſcribed on it; others, in contempt of the laws which condemn oſtentation, and all pretenſions to fictitious ſorrow, perpetuate the memory of their deceaſed relations by elegant and magnificent ſtructures, ornamented with ſtatues, and embelliſhed by

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 83. Euſtath. ibid.

[p] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 262. Schol. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 14.

[q] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 1. v. 64. Euſtath. ibid. p. 1614. Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 283. Schol. ibid.

the arts [r]. I have ſeen a ſimple freed man expend two talents * for a monument to his wife [s].

Between the paths in which men ſtray, either from the exceſs or the default of ſentiment, the laws have pointed out a tract from which no citizen is allowed to deviate. They exclude from the firſt dignities of the magiſtracy the ungrateful ſon, who, at the death of the authors of his being, has neglected the duties of nature and religion [t]. They command all perſons attending at a funeral to reſpect decency even in their expreſſions of affliction and deſpair. Let no one, ſay they, infuſe terror into the minds of the ſpectators, by piercing ſhrieks and terrifying lamentatations; above all, let not the women tear their faces, as was formerly the cuſtom [u]. Who would imagine that it would ever be neceſſary to compel the latter to be careful of the preſervation of their beauty?

CHAP. IX.

Journey to Corinth.—Xenophon.—Timoleon.

On our arrival in Greece, we had learned that the Eleans having taken poſſeſſion of a ſmall town in Peloponneſus, called Scillus, where Xenophon reſided, he had removed with his ſons to Corinth [x]. Timagenes was impatient to ſee him. We ſet out, therefore, taking with us Philotas, whoſe family was on terms of hoſpitality with that of Timodemus, one of the moſt ancient houſes of Corinth [y]. We traverſed Eleuſis, Megaris, and the Iſthmus, but were too much hurried to attend to the objects we met with on our journey.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 43.
* 10 800 livres (450l.)
[s] Demoſth. in Steph. 1. p. 980.
[t] Xenoph. Memor. p. 743.
[u] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. p. 158
[x] Laert. in Xenoph. lib. 2. § 53.
[y] Plut. in Timol. t. 1. p. 237.

Timodemus himſelf conducted us to the houſe of Xenophon. He was from home; but we found him in a neighbouring temple, offering up a ſacrifice. All eyes were fixed on him, but his on no perſon; for he appeared in preſence of the gods with the ſame reſpect with which he inſpired men. I contemplated him with the livelieſt emotion. He appeared to be about ſeventy or ſeventy-five, and his countenance ſtill retained veſtiges of that beauty for which he had been remarkable in his youth [z].

The ceremony was ſcarcely ended before Timagenes threw himſelf on his neck; and, unable to tear himſelf from him, called him, with a broken voice, his general, his ſaviour, his friend. Xenophon ſurveyed him with aſtoniſhment, and endeavoured to recognize features of which he had ſome recollection, but which were no longer familiar to him. At length he exclaimed: You are certainly Timagenes? Ah! who elſe could preſerve ſuch tender ſentiments after ſo long an abſence? You make me feel at this moment how delicious it is to ſee friends revive from whom we ſeemed to be ſeparated for ever. Tender embraces followed this acknowledgment; and, during the whole of our ſtay at Corinth, mutual explanations formed the topic of their frequent converſations.

Born in a town of Attica, and educated in the ſchool of Socrates, Xenophon in his early years bore arms in the ſervice of his country. He then entered as a volunteer in the army aſſembled by the younger Cyrus to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes, king of Perſia [a]. After the death of Cyrus, he was intruſted, conjointly with four officers, with the command of the Grecian troops [b]; and it was then they made that beautiful retreat, as greatly to be admired in its kind, as the relation he has given us of it is in point of compoſition. On his return, he entered into the ſervice of Ageſilaus, king of Lacedæmon, in whoſe glory he ſhared, and whoſe friend-

[z] Laert. lib. 2. § 48.
[a] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 294.
[b] Id. ibid. 299.

ſhip he merited [c]. Some time after, the Athenians ſentenced him to baniſhment, jealous no doubt of the preference he had given to the Lacedæmonians [d]. But the latter, to compenſate for the harſh treatment he ſuffered from his countrymen, beſtowed on him an habitation at Scillus [e].

In this happy retirement he had ſpent ſeveral years, and propoſed returning to it as ſoon as the troubles of Peloponneſus ſhould be appeaſed.

During our ſtay at Corinth, I contracted an intimacy with his two ſons, Gryllus and Diodorus, and a ſtill ſtricter friendſhip with Timoleon, the ſecond ſon of Timodemus, at whoſe houſe we reſided.

Were I to ſketch the portrait of Timoleon, I ſhould paſs over the undaunted courage he has diſplayed in battle; for among warlike nations that is no diſtinction; until carried to exceſs it ceaſes to be a virtue; but to exhibit all the qualities of his mind, I ſhould content myſelf with enumerating the moſt eminent: that conſummate prudence, which in him preceded maturity; his admirable moderation when his own intereſts were the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and his unſhaken firmneſs, when thoſe of his country were in queſtion; his unalterable hatred of the deſpotiſm of ambition, and the tyrrany of bad examples [f]; and I ſhould render his eulogium complete, by adding, that no man more reſembled Epaminondas, whom by a ſecret inſtinct he had adopted for his model [g].

Timoleon was happy in the public eſteem and the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, when the enthuſiaſm of his virtue alienated from him almoſt every friend, and rendered him the moſt miſerable of men. His brother, Timophanes, who poſſeſſed neither his knowledge nor his rectitude of principle, had collected around him a number of corrupt men, who were

[c] Laert. lib. 2. § 51. Nep. in Ageſil. cap. 1.
[d] Laert. ibid.
[e] Dinarch. ap. Laert. lib. 2. § 52.
[f] Plut. in Timol. t. 1. p. 237. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459.
[g] Plut. ibid. p. 253.

perpetually urging him to make himself master of the supreme authority, and finally wrought him into a persuasion that his titles were well founded. A blind and presumptuous courage had procured him the confidence of the Corinthians, whose armies he had more than once commanded, and who placed him at the head of four hundred men, maintained for the internal security of the city. Timophanes converted these men into his personal guards; gained over the populace by largesses; and, seconded by a formidable party, assumed the sovereignty, and dragged the citizens he suspected to the scaffold [h].

Till now, Timoleon had only kept a watchful eye over his conduct and his projects. In hopes to reclaim him, he endeavoured to throw a veil over his faults, and to heighten the lustre of some noble actions which he had by accident performed. He had been even seen to precipitate himself, in battle, regardless of danger, amidst the enemy, and singly to sustain their joint attacks, to rescue a brother whom he loved, and whose body, covered with wounds, was on the point of falling into their hands [i].

Indignant at length at seeing tyranny established in his lifetime, and in the very bosom of his family, he painted in lively colours to Timophanes the horror he felt at the crimes he had already committed, and those which he still meditated; conjuring him immediately to abdicate an odious power, and to make atonement to the manes of the victims sacrificed to his mad ambition. Some days after, he again repaired to his apartment, accompanied by two of their friends, one of them the brother-in-law of Timophanes; they reiterate their united entreaties, and conjure him by the endearing ties of blood, of friendship, and of his country: Timophanes at first answered them with the most insulting derision, and at length broke out into menaces and rage. It had been previously concerted, that a positive refusal on his part should be the signal of his

[h] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.

[i] Id. ibid.

deſtruction. His two friends, wearied with his reſiſtance, plunged a dagger in his breaſt, whilſt Timoleon, with his head covered with his robe, remained overwhelmed with grief, and diſſolved in tears, in a corner of the apartment [k], to which he had retired.

I cannot, without ſhuddering, think of that fatal moment when we heard thoſe piercing cries, thoſe terrifying words, re-echo through the houſe: Timophanes is dead; his brother-in-law has killed him; he is murdered by his brother. We happened at that inſtant to be with Demariſte, his mother; his father was from home. Caſting my eyes on this unhappy woman, I ſaw her hair ſtand erect upon her head, and horror painted on her countenance, amidſt the ſhades of death. When ſhe had recovered the uſe of her ſenſes, ſhe uttered, without ſhedding a ſingle tear, the moſt horrid imprecations againſt Timoleon, who was denied even the feeble conſolation of hearing them from her mouth. Shutting herſelf up in her apartment, ſhe vowed never more to behold the murderer of her ſon [l].

Among the Corinthians, ſome conſidered the aſſaſſination of Timophanes as an heroic, and others as an atrocious deed. The former thought they could never ſufficiently extol the exalted courage which could ſacrifice the ties of nature and friendſhip to the public good. The greater part, however, though they approved of the deſtruction of the tyrant [m], added, that every citizen had a right to take away his life, except his brother. This tranſaction was followed by a tumult which was ſoon appeaſed, and an accuſation preferred againſt Timoleon, from which he was acquitted [n].

The judgment he paſſed on himſelf was more rigorous. No ſooner did he perceive that what he had done was condemned by the greater number, than he doubted of his own

[k] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 257. Nep. in Timol. cap. 1.
[l] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238.
[m] Id. ibid.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459.

innocence, and reſolved to renounce life. His friends, by their entreaties and attention, at length prevailed on him to take ſome nouriſhment; but he could not be perſuaded to remain with them. He quitted Corinth, and wandered for ſeveral years in ſolitary places, entirely abandoned to his grief, bitterly deploring the errors of his virtue, and ſometimes the ingratitude of the Corinthians °.

We ſhall one day ſee him again make his appearance with more luſtre, and beſtow happineſs on a great empire which owed to him its liberty.

The troubles occaſioned by the murder of his brother haſtened our departure. We took leave of Xenophon with great regret. I again met with him, a few years after, at Scillus; and, at a proper time, ſhall give you an account of the converſations I then had with him. His two ſons accompanied us, with intention to ſerve in the troops the Athenians were preparing to ſend to the Lacedæmonians.

In our road, we fell in with a great number of travellers, who were repairing to Athens, to be preſent at the greater Dionyſia, one of the moſt celebrated feſtivals of that city. Beſides the gratification I expected for my curioſity in the magnificence of the other ſpectacles, I was extremely deſirous to be preſent at a competition that had long been cuſtomary at this time, in which poets vied with each other, and preſented new tragedies and comedies. We arrived on the 5th of the month Elaphebolion *, and the feſtival was to commence in eight days †.

° Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238. Nep. ibid. cap. 1.

* The firſt of April of the year 362 before J. C.

† See note at the end of the volume.

CHAP. X.

Levies, Review, and Exerciſe of the Troops.

TWO days after our arrival, we repaired to a place where the levy of the troops intended to be ſent into Peloponneſus was to be made. They were to form a junction with thoſe of the Lacedæmonians, and ſome other ſtates, to oppoſe, conjointly with them, the projects of the Thebans and their allies [p]. Hegelochus [q], the ſtrategus or general, was ſeated on a raiſed ſeat [r]. Near him a taxiarch [s], or general officer, held the regiſter in which were inſcribed the names of the citizens, who being of ſufficient age to carry arms [t] were ſummoned to attend at this tribunal. He called over the names aloud, and noted down thoſe whom the general had choſen [u].

The Athenians are bound to ſerve from the age of eighteen to that of ſixty [x], but citizens of an advanced age are rarely required to ſerve [y]; and when thoſe who are very young are choſen, care is taken to ſtation them at a diſtance from the poſts moſt expoſed [z]. Sometimes the government fixes the age of the recruits [a], and ſometimes they are drawn for by lot [b].

Such as farm the public impoſts, or perform in the choruſes at the feſtivals of Bacchus, are exempted from ſervice [c]; and it is only on urgent occaſions that the ſlaves [d], the foreigners ſettled in Attica, and the pooreſt of the citizens, are

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[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 642. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 391.

[q] Diod. Sic. p. 393.

[r] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746.

[s] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1172.

[t] Id. in Equit. v. 366. Schol. ibid. Suid. et Heſych. in Καλλ. Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Olymp. p. 1064.

[u] Lyſ. in Alcib. p. 275. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 115.

[x] Ariſt. ap. Suid. et Harpocr. in Στρατ. Poll. lib. 2. cap. 2. § 11. Taylor. in Not. ad Lyſ. p. 124.

[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 752.

[z] Æſch. de Faiſ. Leg. p. 422. Suid. et Etymol. Magn. in Τιθρ.

[a] Demoſth. Philipp. i. p. 50.

[b] Lyſ. pro Mantit. p. 307.

[c] Sam. Pet. p. 555. Ulpian. in 3 Olynth. p. 43.

[d] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 33 et 705. Schol. ibid.

obliged to take the field [c]. Theſe are very ſeldom enrolled, becauſe they have not taken the oath to defend the country, or becauſe they are ſuppoſed to have no intereſt in it to defend. The law confides this important truſt only to citizens poſſeſſing ſome property; and the wealthieſt ſerve only as common ſoldiers. Hence it happens that the loſs of a battle, by enfeebling the higher claſſes, contributes to give the inferior ones a ſuperiority which may change the form of government [f].

The republic had engaged to furniſh the army of the allies with ſix thouſand men, cavalry and infantry [g]. The day after their enrolment they tumultuouſly diſperſed themſelves with their arms about the ſtreets and public places [h]. Their names were affixed to the ſtatues of the ten heroes after whom the tribes of Athens are named [i], ſo that any perſon might read on each ſtatue the names of the ſoldiers of each tribe.

A few days after there was a review of the troops, to which I went, in company with Timagenes, Apollodorus, and Philotas. We there ſaw Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, Chabrias, all the old generals, and thoſe for the preſent year. The latter had been drawn by lot, according to cuſtom, in the aſſembly of the people. They were ten in number, one choſen from each tribe [k]. This brings to my mind a remark of Philip of Macedon: "I envy the good fortune of the Athenians," ſaid he: "they find ten men every year able to command their armies, whilſt I could never find any one but Parmenio to head mine [l]."

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[c] Ariſtoph. ap. Harpocr. in Θῆτ. Sam. Per. p. 546.
[f] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 389.
[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 393.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 556, &c.
[i] Id. in Pac. v. 1183. Schol. ibid.
[k] Demoſth. Philipp. i. p. 50. Ariſtot. et Hyper. ap. Harpocr. in Στρατηγοί. Plut. in Cim. p. 483; et alii.
[l] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.

Formerly the command devolved alternately on the ten ſtrategi. Every day the army had a new general [m]; and when the council was divided, the polemarch, one of the chief magiſtrates of the republic, poſſeſſed the right to decide the queſtion by his voice [n]. On this day the whole authority is, generally ſpeaking, in the hands of one man, who is obliged, at his return, to give an account of what he has done, unleſs previouſly inveſted with unlimited power [o]. The other generals remain at Athens, with no other function than that of appearing at public ceremonies [p].

The infantry [q] was compoſed of three orders: the oplitæ, or heavy armed ſoldiers; the light armed; and the peltaſtæ, whoſe arms were neither ſo weighty as thoſe of the former, nor ſo ſlight as thoſe of the latter [r].

The defenſive armour of the oplitæ conſiſted of the helmet, the cuiraſs, the buckler, and a ſort of buſkins that covered the fore part of the leg; their offenſive weapons were the lance and ſword [s].

The light armed troops were to caſt javelins or darts; and ſome to throw ſtones with the ſling or hand. The peltaſtæ carried a ſpear and a ſmall ſhield called the pelta.

The ſhields, almoſt all made of willow [t], or even of oſier, were ornamented with colours, emblems, and inſcriptions [u]. I ſaw ſome on which theſe words were written in golden letters, To GOOD FORTUNE [x]; and others on which ſome officers had painted ſymbols alluding to their character or taſte. As I paſſed on, I overheard an old man ſaying to his companions, I was in that unfortunate expedition into Sicily, fifty-three

[m] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 110. Plut. in Ariſt. t. i. p. 321.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 109.
[o] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Suid. in Αὐτοκρ.
[p] Demoſth. Philipp. i. p. 51.
[q] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 810.
[r] Arrian. Tact. p. 10. Ælian. Tact. cap. 2.
[s] Suid. in Ὁπλ.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 9. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 10. § 133. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 518.
[u] Æſchyl. Sept. Cont. Theb. v. 393, &c.
[x] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 855.

years ago. I ſerved under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. You have heard of the riches of the firſt, and of the valour and beauty of the ſecond; the third poſſeſſed a courage proper to inſpire terror. The buckler of Nicias was decorated with gold and purple [y], that of Lamachus repreſented a gorgon's head [z]; and that of Alcibiades had on it a Cupid darting thunder [a].

I was wiſhing to hear the reſt of this converſation, but was interrupted by the arrival of Iphicrates, to whom Apollodorus had been recounting the adventures of Timagenes and myſelf. After the firſt ſalutations, Timagenes complimented him on the changes he had introduced into the armour of the oplitæ. They were neceſſary, anſwered Iphicrates: the phalanx, oppreſſed with the weight of their arms, could ſcarcely perform the neceſſary motions; and were better fitted to reſiſt, than act offenſively againſt the enemy. The metal cuiraſs is exchanged for one of canvaſs, and a ſmall and light buckler is ſubſtituted for thoſe enormous ſhields, which, while they protected the body, prevented the ſoldier from acting. The ſpear is lengthened one third; and the ſword is half as long again as formerly. The ſoldier faſtens and unbinds the armour of his legs with more facility [b]. I was particularly deſirous of rendering the oplitæ more formidable, for they are in an army what the breaſt is to the human body. As Iphicrates had no objection to diſplay his eloquence, he purſued his ſimile, comparing the general to the head, the cavalry to the feet, and the light troops to the hands [c]. Timagenes aſked him why he had not adopted the Bœotian helmet which covers the neck, extending even over the cuiraſs [d]. This queſtion led to many others on the manual exerciſe of the troops, as well as on the Greek and Perſian tactics. I in

[y] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 10. § 134.
[z] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 573. Schol. ibid.
[a] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 198.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 360. Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 1.
[c] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 278.
[d] Xenoph. de Re Equeſt. p. 952.

the mean time interrogated Apollodorus on many ſubjects, which will be explained by his anſwers.

Under the ten ſtrategi, ſaid he, there are the ſame number of taxiarchs, who, like the former, are annually appointed by lot, and drawn from each tribe in the general aſſembly [e]. It is their duty, under the direction of the generals, to provide the army with neceſſaries, to regulate the order of its marches, ſuperintend its encampment [f], maintain diſcipline, and take care that the arms are in good order. Occaſionally they command the right wing [g], and the general ſometimes diſpatches them to carry the news of a victory, and give a particular account of what paſſed in the battle [h].

At this moment we ſaw a man clothed in a tunic [i] reaching to his knees, and over which he ſhould have worn his cuiraſs, which he held in his hands, with his other arms. On his approaching the taxiarch of his tribe, near to whom we were, Comrade, ſaid that officer to him, why do not you put on your cuiraſs? He anſwered, The time of my ſervice is expired; I was ploughing my field when you called over the names yeſterday. I was enrolled in the militia under the archonſhip of Callias; look at your liſt of archons [k], and you will ſee that upwards of forty-two years have elapſed ſince that period. Nevertheleſs, if my country ſtands in need of me, I have brought my arms. The officer having examined, found that what he ſaid was true, and, after conferring with the general, effaced the name of this worthy citizen, and ſubſtituted another [l].

The places of the ten taxiarchs are of that kind of public employments which men are more anxious to poſſeſs, than ſcrupulouſly to diſcharge their duties. Moſt of them avoid

[e] Demoſth. Philip. 1. p. 50. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 54.
[f] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 5. Pett. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3. cap. 5.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 352.
[h] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 422.
[i] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 5. p. 347. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. cap. 37.
[k] Demoſth. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐπώνυμ.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1181. Lyſ. pro Mil. p. 161.

following the army, and their functions are divided among the chiefs whom the general places at the head of diviſions and ſubdiviſions [m]. They are pretty numerous. Some have the command of 128 men, others of 256, 512, and 1024 [n], following a proportion unlimited in aſcending, but which in deſcending ends in a term that may be conſidered as the element or baſis of the different diviſions of the phalanx. This element is the file, ſometimes compoſed of eight men, but oftener of ſixteen [o].

Here I interrupted Apollodorus, to ſhow him a man with a crown upon his head, and a caduceus in his hand [p]. I have already, ſaid I, ſeen ſeveral of theſe paſs by. They are heralds, anſwered he. Their perſons are ſacred, and their functions important; they proclaim war, propoſe a truce or peace [q], publiſh the orders of the general [r], give out orders, aſſemble the army [s], declare the time of departure, the place of deſtination, and how many days proviſion will be neceſſary [t]. If at the moment of attack or retreat the voice of the herald is overpowered by the tumult, ſignals are hoiſted [u]; if the duſt prevents them from being ſeen, the trumpet is ſounded [x], and all theſe methods failing, an aid de camp flies from rank to rank to carry the commands of the general [y].

At this inſtant, ſome young men, paſſing with the utmoſt rapidity, had nearly thrown down ſeveral grave perſonages who were marching with ſlow and ſolemn ſteps. The firſt, ſaid Apollodorus, are meſſengers [z]; the latter, ſoothſayers: two kinds of men often employed in our armies; the one, to

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[m] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 10.

[n] Arrian. Tact. p. 28. Ælian. Tact. cap. 4.

[o] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 515. Arrian. Tact. p. 18. Ælian. Tact. cap. 7.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 53.

[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 533. Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 366.

[r] Id. ibid. p. 317. Id. de Laced. Rep. p. 686.

[s] Id. Exped. lib. 3. p. 299.

[t] Id. ibid. p. 312. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 450.

[u] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 63. Suid. in Σημ. Ælian. Tact. cap. 34.

[x] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4. p. 319; et alii.

[y] Suid. in Ἔκτακτ. Guiſch. Tact. d'Arrien. t. ii. p. 169.

[z] Suid. in Ἡμεροδ. Harpocr. in Δημοσ.

carry the orders of the general to a diſtance; the other, to examine the entrails of the victims, and declare from them the will of the gods [a].

Thus, ſaid I, among the Greeks, the operations of a campaign depend on the intereſt and ignorance of theſe pretended interpreters of the commands of heaven. Too often, replied he. Yet, admitting that ſuperſtition has introduced them among us, it is not perhaps impolitic to retain them. Our ſoldiers are free men, and brave, but impatient, and incapable of ſubmitting to the prudent delays of a general, who, unable to prevail on them to liſten to reaſon, has frequently no other reſource but to make the gods ſpeak.

As we were walking around the phalanx, I obſerved that each general officer had by his ſide a ſubaltern who never quitted him. He is his ſhield-bearer [b], ſaid Apollodorus. He is obliged to follow him into the heat of the battle, and, on certain occaſions, to take charge of his buckler [c]. Every oplites, or heavy armed ſoldier, has likewiſe an attendant [d], who, among other functions, executes that of ſhield-bearer [e]; but care is taken to ſend him back to the baggage before the engagement [f]. With us, diſhonour lies in the loſs of the buckler [g], and not of the ſword or other offenſive weapons. Why this difference, ſaid I? To give us a momentous leſſon, anſwered he; to teach us to think leſs of ſpilling the blood of the enemy, than of preventing them from ſhedding ours [h], thus intimating that war ſhould rather be deemed a ſtate of defence than of attack.

We next went to the Lyceum, to ſee the cavalry reviewed. The command of it belongs of right to two generals named Hipparchs, and ten particular officers called Phylarchs;

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[a] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 972. Id. Exped. Cyr. et alii.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 11. cap. 9. Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 194.
[c] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 4. p. 321.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 177.
[e] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 1c.
[f] Ælian. Tact. cap. 5. Arrian. Tact. p. 73.
[g] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 264. Lyſ. in Theomn. p. 174. Andoc. de Myſt. p. 10.
[h] Plut. in Pelop. t. 1. p. 278.

both of which are annually drawn by lot in the aſſembly of the people [i].

Some Athenians are early enrolled in this body, as almoſt all the others are in the infantry. It conſiſts only of twelve hundred men [k], each tribe furniſhing one hundred and twenty, with the officer who is to command them [l]. The number actually employed is uſually regulated by that of the heavy armed ſoldiers; and the proportion, which varies according to circumſtances, is often that of one to ten; that is to ſay, two hundred horſe are added to two thouſand oplitæ [m].

It is not above a century, ſaid Apollodorus, that we have had any cavalry in our armies. It is numerous in Theſſaly, becauſe that country abounds in paſturage. The other diſtricts of Greece are ſo dry and ſterile, as to make it difficult to rear horſes; for which reaſon none but the rich enter into the cavalry [n]; and hence the reſpect and honour annexed to that ſervice [o].

No perſon can obtain admiſſion into this corps without the previous conſent of the generals, the particular officers, and eſpecially of the ſenate, who pay extraordinary attention to the maintenance and ſplendour of ſo diſtinguiſhed a body of men [p]. They are now attending at the inſpection of new levies.

The ſoldiers appeared before them with a helmet, cuiraſs, buckler, ſword, lance or javelin, a ſmall cloak, &c. Whilſt they were proceeding to the examination of the arms, Timagenes, who had made every thing relative to the military art his particular ſtudy, ſaid to us, A cuiraſs too wide, or too ſtrait, becomes either an inſupportable weight, or binds and

i Demoſth. Philip. 1. p. 50.
k Andoc. Orat de Pace, p. 24. Suid. in Ἱππ.
l Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 94. Harpocr. in Φύλ.
m Demoſth. ibid. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 440.
n Xenoph. de Re Equeſtr. p. 935.
o Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 3. & ii. p. 365.
p Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 955. Lycurg. ap. Harpocr. Δοκιμ.

confines the body [q]. The helmet ſhould be ſo contrived as to ſuffer the horſeman occaſionally to draw it down over the middle of his face. The left arm ſhould be defended by the armour lately invented, which eaſily ſtretching and folding up, wholly covers that part of the body from the ſhoulder to the hand. On the right arm ſhould be worn leather arm-pieces, and braſs plates; and in certain places calves ſkin, care being taken that theſe means of defence do not confine the motions of the body; the legs and feet ſhould be defended by leathern boots [r], provided with ſpurs [s]. The ſabre is juſtly preferred to the ſword for horſemen. Inſtead of thoſe long lances, ſo brittle and heavy, that you ſee uſed by moſt of our ſoldiers, I ſhould like better two ſmall pikes of the ſorbus wood, the one to throw, the other for defence [t]. The head and breaſt of the horſe ſhould be protected by armour, and his flanks and belly by cloths ſpread on his back, on which the rider may be ſeated [u].

Though the Athenian cavalry had not adopted all the improvements Timagenes had ſuggeſted, yet he was tolerably well ſatisfied with the manner in which they were armed. The ſenators and general officers diſmiſſed ſome who did not appear to have ſufficient ſtrength of body [x], and reproached others with neglecting their arms. They next examined whether the horſes were eaſy to mount [y], docile to the bit, and capable of ſupporting fatigue [z]; whether they were not vicious [a], too fiery, or too tame [b]. Several of them were found faulty and rejected; and to prevent any of the old or infirm ones from ever again being introduced, they were marked on the jaw with a hot iron [c].

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q Xenoph. de Re Equeſtr. p. 952.
r Id. ibid. p. 955.
s Id. ibid. p. 944.
t Id. ibid. p. 953.
u Id. ibid. p. 952. et de Magiſt. Equit. p. 968.
x Id. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 955.
y Id. de Re Equeſtr. p. 936.
z Id. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 954.
a Id. de Re Equeſtr. p. 937.
b Id. ibid. p. 947.
c Heſych. et Etym. Τρωσίν. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 4. p. 1517.

During the courſe of this examination, the ſoldiers of one of the tribes advanced with loud clamours, to accuſe to the ſenate one of their comrades, who, a few years before, in the heat of action, had paſſed from the infantry into the cavalry, without the permiſſion of the officers. The offence being public, and the law expreſs [d], he was ſentenced to that ſpecies of infamy which deprives a citizen of the greater part of his privileges.

The ſame penalty is inflicted on the citizen who refuſes to ſerve [e] unleſs compelled by the courts of juſtice [f]. It is incurred likewiſe by the ſoldier who flies at ſight of the enemy, or, to avoid danger, eſcapes into a leſs expoſed rank [g]. In all theſe caſes, the offender is excluded from the general aſſembly and public ſacrifices; and ſhould he appear, each citizen is entitled to commence a proſecution againſt him. The puniſhments for ſuch delinquencies are different; and if it be a pecuniary fine, he is thrown into priſon till he pays it.

Treaſon is puniſhed with death [h], as is deſertion [i]; for to deſert is to betray the ſtate [k]. The general has the power of degrading to an inferior rank, and even of employing in the meaneſt functions, the officer who diſhonours himſelf, or is guilty of diſobedience [l].

Such rigorous laws, ſaid I, muſt certainly maintain a ſenſe of honour and ſubordination in your armies. Apollodorus anſwered: A ſtate which ceaſes to protect its laws, can no longer expect to be protected by them. The moſt eſſential of all, that which obliges each citizen perſonally to defend his country, is every day ſhamefully violated. The wealthieſt procure themſelves to be enregiſtered in the cavalry, and a-

[d] Lyſ. in Alcib. 1. p. 276 et 282. Id. in Alcib. 2. p. 299. Lyſ. ap. Harpocr. Δοκιμ. Demoſth. pro Rhod. Libert. p. 148.

[e] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Timocr. p. 789.

[f] Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 955.

[g] Æſchin. in Ctef. p. 456. Lyſ. in Alcib. 1. p. 275 et 278.

[h] Lyſ. in Philon. p. 498.

[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563.

[k] Suid. et Heſych. in Ἀυτόμολ.

[l] Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 952. Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 296. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 556.

void ſervice, either by voluntary contributions [m], or by finding a ſubſtitute, whom they furniſh with a horſe [n]. We ſhall ſoon have no more Athenians in our armies. You ſaw a ſmall number indeed enrolled yeſterday, but they have been juſt aſſociated with a band of mercenaries, to whom we bluſh not to confide the ſafety of the republic. For ſome time paſt a ſet of daring chiefs have ariſen in Greece, who, after collecting ſoldiers of all nations, fly from country to country, with death and deſolation in their train, proſtituting their valour to the power that pays them, and equally ready to turn their arms againſt it on the ſlighteſt diſcontent [o]. Such, at this day, are the reſources and the hope of Athens. No ſooner is war declared, than the people, accuſtomed to the ſweets of peace, and dreading the fatigues of a campaign, exclaim with one voice, Send for ten thouſand, or twenty thouſand foreigners [p]. Our anceſtors would have ſhuddered at theſe diſgraceful clamours; but abuſe has become cuſtom, and that cuſtom law.

However, ſaid I, if among theſe venal troops you could find ſome capable of diſcipline, by incorporating them with your own, you would compel them to keep a mutual watch over each other, and poſſibly produce an uſeful emulation [q]. If our virtues ſtand in need of ſpectators, anſwered he, why go in ſearch of them out of the limits of the republic? By an admirable inſtitution, the members of a tribe or diſtrict are enrolled in the ſame cohort, the ſame ſquadron; they march, they fight by the ſide of their relations, their friends, their neighbours, their rivals. What ſoldier would dare to commit an act of cowardice in the preſence of ſuch formidable wit-

[m] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 629. Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 972.
[n] Pot. Archæol. Græc. lib. 3. cap. 3.
[o] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 747. Id. Philip. 1. p. 50. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 384. Id. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 278. Id. Epiſt. 2. ad Philip. ibid. p. 457. Id. Epiſt. ad Archid. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 334. Polyæn. Strag. lib. 3. cap 10. § 9.
[p] Demoſth. Philip. i. p. 50.
[q] Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 971.

neſſes? How, at his return, could he bear the ſight of men ever ready to cover him with confuſion?

After Apollodorus had expatiated on the ſcandalous luxury which the officers, and even the generals, were beginning to introduce into the army [r], I deſired him to inform me of the pay of the foot ſoldiers and cavalry. That, anſwered Apollodorus, has varied according to times and circumſtances. I have heard old men, who ſerved ſixty-eight years ago at the ſiege of Potidæa, ſay, that the pay of the oplites, for himſelf and attendants [s], was two drachmas a day *; but this was a ſingular inſtance, and exhauſted the public treaſury. About twenty years after, the republic was obliged to diſmiſs a body of light troops that had been ſent for from Thrace, becauſe they required the half of this pay [t].

The ordinary pay of the oplites, at preſent, is four oboli, or twenty drachmas a month † [u]. Twice this ſum is uſually given to the leader of a cohort, and quadruple to the general [x]. This ſum is ſometimes reduced, from peculiar circumſtances, to one half [y]; in which caſe it is preſumed that this is ſufficient to procure a bare ſubſiſtence for the foot ſoldier, and that his ſhare of booty will make up the deficiency.

The pay of the horſemen, in time of war, is, according to circumſtances, double [z], triple [a], nay even quadruple [b] to that of the foot ſoldier. In peace, when there is no longer any pay, he receives, for the maintenance of his horſe, ſixteen drachmas a month ‡, which makes an annual expenditure of about forty talents § for the public treaſury [c].

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[r] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 625. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 17.

* 1 livre 16 ſols (or 18 pence).

[t] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 27. p. 461.

† About 12 ſols (or 6 pence) a day; 18 livres (or 15 ſhillings) monthly.

[u] Theopomp. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 64. Euſtath. in Iliad. p. 951. Id. in Odyſſ. p. 1405.

[x] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 402 et 413.

[y] Demoſth. Philip. 1. p. 51.

[z] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 47.

[a] Demoſth. ibid.

[b] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 556.

‡ About 14 livres 8 ſols (or 12 ſhillings).

§ About 216,000 livres (or 9000l. Sterling).

[c] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 956. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 552.

Apollodorus was never wearied with ſatisfying my curioſity. The ſoldiers, before they march, ſaid he, are ordered to lay in proviſions for ſome days [d]. It is then the buſineſs of the generals to provide the markets with every thing neceſſary [e]. The baggage is conveyed in covered waggons, on beaſts of burden and by ſlaves. Sometimes the ſoldiers are themſelves obliged to carry it [f].

You wiſh to know the practice of the Greeks reſpecting the ſpoils taken from the enemy. The right of diſpoſing them, or making a diſtribution, has always been conſidered as one of the prerogatives of the general. During the Trojan war they were laid at his feet; one part he reſerved for himſelf, and divided the remainder either among the chiefs or ſoldiers [g]. Eight hundred years after, the generals regulated the partition of the ſpoils taken from the Perſians after the battle of Plataea. They were ſhared among the ſoldiers, after ſetting apart a certain portion to decorate the temples of Greece, and decreeing proportionable rewards to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action [h].

From that period to our time, the Grecian generals have been ſeen to diſpoſe of the ſums ariſing from the ſale of the plunder; ſometimes depoſiting them in the public treaſury [i]; at others aſſigning them to defray the expence of public works [k], or the decoration of temples [l]; enriching their friends or ſoldiers with them [m]; adding them to their own wealth [n],

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[d] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 196. Schol. ibid. Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

[e] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 762.

[f] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 303, &c.

[g] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 330. Odyſſ. lib. 9. v. 39; lib. 14. v. 232.

[h] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 26. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 331.

[i] This is what was done ſometimes by CIMON. Plut. p. 484 et 487; by TIMOTHEUS, Nep. in Tim. c. 1; by LYSANDER, Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 225. Plut. in Lyſ. p. 442.

[k] CIMON, Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Nep. in Cim. cap. 2.

[l] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 80. Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 114.

[m] MYRONIDES, Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 63. AGESILAUS, Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 3. Plut. in Ageſ. p. 601. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 654. IPHICRATES, Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 3.

[n] CIMON, Plut. et Nep. ut ſupra.

or at leaſt appropriating to themſelves the third, which in certain countries is regularly aſſigned them by conſtant uſage [o].

With us there is no law to reſtrain the prerogative of the general who avails himſelf of it as he happens to be more or leſs diſintereſted. All that the ſtate requires of him is, that the troops may live, if poſſible, at the expence of the enemy, and find in the diviſion of the ſpoils a ſupplement to their pay, when it becomes neceſſary to diminiſh it from motives of œconomy.

The following days were ſet apart for the exerciſe of the troops. I ſhall not attempt to ſpeak of all the manœuvres to which I was a witneſs; my deſcription would be but imperfect, and uſeleſs to thoſe for whom I am writing: the following are only a few general obſervations.

Near Mount Ancheſmus, we found a body of ſixteen hundred heavy armed infantry, drawn up ſixteen deep and one hundred in front, each ſoldier occupying [p] the ſpace of four cubits *. To them was added another body of light armed troops.

The beſt men were placed in the firſt and laſt ranks [q]. The commanders of the files eſpecially, as well as thoſe at each end, were all of them men diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and experience [r]. One of the officers gave the word of command. Take up your arms, cried he [s]: Followers, leave the phalanx: Raiſe your pikes: Lower your pikes: File-leader, dreſs the files: Take your diſtances: To the right about: To the left about [t]: The pike within your buckler [u]: March [x]: Halt: Double your files: Recover your poſition: The Lacedæmonian evolution: Recover your poſition, &c.

[o] Cleomenes, Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 147.

* Ælian. Tact. cap. 11.

[p] 5 feet 8 inches French (or 6 feet Engliſh, nearly).

[q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 762.

[r] Arrian. Tact. p. 20 et 33. Ælian. Tact. cap. 5.

[s] Arrian. ibid. p. 73. Ælian. Tact. cap. 51 et 53.

[t] Theophr. Charact. Περὶ. Ὀψιμαθ.

[u] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 388. Schol. ibid.

[x] Arrian. Ælian. ut ſupra.

At the word of comand, we ſaw the phalanx ſucceſſively open its files and ranks, cloſe and compreſs them, ſo that the ſoldier occupying only the ſpace of one cubit *, was no longer able to move either to the right or left [y]. Now we ſaw it form a cloſe line, and now divided into ſections, the intervals of which were occaſionally occupied by light troops [z]; and, at length, by means of certain evolutions, aſſuming all the forms of which it was capable, marching forward in a column, in a perfect or oblong ſquare, either with a hollow or ſolid centre, &c [a].

During theſe manœuvres, blows were frequently given to untractable or negligent ſoldiers [b]. This ſurpriſed me the more, as among the Athenians it is not permitted to ſtrike even a ſlave [c]. Hence I concluded, that diſhonour in poliſhed nations often depends more on arbitrary circumſtances, than on the real nature of things.

Theſe evolutions were ſcarcely finiſhed, before we diſcovered a cloud of duſt ariſing at a diſtance, and the advanced poſts [d] announced the approach of the enemy. This was a ſecond body of infantry that had been exerciſing at the Lyceum [e], and which had been ſent by its commanders to make an attack upon the former, to exhibit the repreſentation of a battle [f]. The ſhout, To arms, was inſtantly given; the ſoldiers flew to their ranks, and the light troops took their ſtation in the rear; whence they pour on the enemy [g] arrows darts and ſtones, which paſs over the heads of the phalanx †.

Meanwhile the enemy were advancing with redoubled ſpeed [h], carrying their pikes on the right ſhoulder. Their

* 18 inches.

[y] Arrian. Tact. p. 32. Ælian. Tact. cap. 11.

[z] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 353.

[a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 304. Traduct. de M. le Comte de la Luzerne, p. 407. t. i. Arrian. Tact. p. 69.

[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 368.

[c] Id. de Rep. Athen. p. 693.

[d] Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 2. p. 278.

[e] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 355. Schol. ibid. in v. 353.

[f] Onoſand. Inſt. cap. 10. p. 34.

[g] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 6. p. 167. Arrian. Tact. p. 20.

† Onoſander (Inſt. cap. 10) ſays, that in theſe mock fights the oplitæ had ſtaves and leathern ſtraps; the light-armed troops, pellets or clods of earth

[h] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6. p. 387.

light troops approached [i] with loud ſhouts, were repulſed, put to flight, and ſucceeded by the oplitæ, who halted at the diſtance of the flight of a javelin. A profound ſilence now reigned through both lines [k]. Preſently the trumpet gave the ſignal. The ſoldiers ſang the hymn of battle in honour of Mars [l]; and lowered their pikes, ſome ſtriking their bucklers with them [m]. The whole body ran forward in a line, and in perfect order. To increaſe their ardour, the general gave the ſhout of battle [n], while they a thouſand times repeated after him, ELELEU, ELELELEU [o]! The action now appeared very animated; the enemy were diſperſed, and we heard the word ALALE* ! which is the ſhout of victory [p], re-echoed on all ſides through our little army.

Our light troops went in purſuit of the enemy [q], and brought in ſeveral priſoners. The victorious ſoldiers prepared a trophy, and, ranging themſelves in order of battle, in front of an adjoining camp, laid down their arms, but in ſuch order as to be found all ready formed on taking them up [r]. They then retired into the camp; where, after taking a ſlight repaſt, they paſſed the night on beds of leaves [s].

None of the precautions obſerved in the time of war were neglected. No fires were made in the camp [t]; but ſome were lighted in the front to diſcover any attempts of the enemy [u]. Evening ſentinels were poſted [x], and relieved at the

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i Ælian. Tact. cap. 17.

k Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 8.

l Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 474. Id. Exped. lib. 4. p. 324, 326, &c.

m Id. Exped. lib. 1. p. 265. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 10. § 163

n Xenoph. ap. Demet. Phaler. c. 98.

o Id. Exped. lib. 1. p. 265. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 363. Schol. ibid. Heſych. et Suid. in Ἐλελεῦ.

* In ancient times, the laſt letter of the word *Alalé* was pronounced like the French *i* (Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418.) To adapt this obſervation to the Engliſh mode of pronouncing the vowels, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to deſire the reader to ſubſtitute *a* for *e* in the firſt inſtance, and *ee* for *i* in the ſecond.

p Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 954, et 1761. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Ἀλαλά.

q Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6. p. 387.

r Traduction de l'Expédition de Cyrus, par M. le Comte de la Luzerne, t. i. p. 221.

s Polyæn. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 19. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. p. 1678. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 347.

t Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 842.

u Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 587.

x Id. Exped. lib. 7. p. 406.

different watches of the night [y]. The round was often made by an officer carrying a little bell [z], at the ſound of which the ſentinel pronounced the order or watch word. This word is a token, changed from time to time, to diſtinguiſh thoſe of the ſame party. It is communicated to the officers and ſoldiers before a battle, to enable them to rally in the heat of action; and before night, that they may know each other in the dark [a]. The general gives it; and the greateſt mark of diſtinction he has it in his power to grant, is to concede this privilege to another [b]. The following formularies are frequently employed: JUPITER SAVIOUR AND HERCULES CONDUCTOR [c]; JUPITER SAVIOUR AND VICTORY; MINERVA-PALLAS; THE SUN AND MOON; SWORD AND DAGGER [d].

Iphicrates, who had never quitted us, told us that he had ſuppreſſed the uſe of the bell in going the rounds; and, the better to conceal the word from the enemy, gave out two different ones for the officer and the ſentinel, ſo that one, for inſtance, anſwered, JUPITER SAVIOUR; the other, NEPTUNE [e].

Iphicrates was of opinion that the camp ſhould be defended by a circumvallation. That is a precaution, ſaid he, which ſhould be conſtantly obſerved, and which I never neglected, even when in a friendly country [f].

You ſee thoſe beds of leaves, added he. Sometimes I order one only to be made for two ſoldiers, at others each ſoldier has two. I then quit my camp; the enemy comes, numbers my beds, and ſuppoſing me at the head of more or fewer forces than I really have, either does not venture to attack me, or does it to diſadvantage [g].

I maintain vigilance among my troops, by privately exciting panic terrors, by frequent alarms, and ſometimes by a

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[y] Id. ibid. lib. 4 p. 316.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 843 et 1160. Schol. ibid. Ulpian. in Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 377.
[a] Xenoph. Exped. lib. 6. p. 386; lib. 7. p. 406.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 407.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 386.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 264. Æneas, Comment. cap. 24.
[e] Æneas, ibid.
[f] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 17.
[g] Id. ibid. § 19.

falſe rumour of treachery, of an ambuſcade, or of a reinforcement received by the enemy [h].

To prevent a pernicious idleneſs in times of tranquillity, I employ my men to dig trenches, cut down trees, and remove the camp and baggage from place to place [i].

But above all, I endeavour to lead them by the incentive of honour. One day, when on the point of engaging, I obſerved ſome ſoldiers turn pale; I immediately ſaid aloud: If any of you has forgotten any thing in camp let him go back and return as quick as poſſible. The cowards availing themſelves of the permiſſion, I then exclaimed, The ſlaves have diſappeared; none remain with us but the brave. We marched, and the enemy took to flight [k].

Iphicrates related to us many ſuch ſtratagems, which had been attended with ſimilar ſucceſs. We withdrew towards the middle of the night. On the next, and ſeveral ſucceeding days, we ſaw the cavalry exerciſe at the Lyceum and near the Academy [l]: they were trained to vault on horſe-back without aid [m], to throw javelins [n], leap ditches, climb eminences, and ride along declivities [o]; to attack and purſue each other [p], and to perform various kinds of evolutions, now ſeparately, and afterward in conjunction with the infantry.

Timagenes ſaid to me, However excellent this cavalry may be, they will be beaten if they come to action with that of the Thebans. They admit but a ſmall number of ſlingers and javelin men into the intervals of their line; the Thebans have three times as many, and employ none but Theſſalians, who are ſuperior in this ſpecies of attack to all the nations of Greece. The event juſtified the prediction of Timagenes [q].

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[h] Id. ibid. § 32.
[i] Id. ibid. § 35.
[k] Id. ibid. § 1.
[l] Xenoph. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 959, &c.
[m] Id. ibid. p 954.
[n] Id. ibid. p 954 et 956.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 966; et de Re Equeſt. p. 936.
[p] Id. de Re Equeſt. p. 951.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 394.

The army prepared for its departure. Many families were in conſternation. The ſentiments of nature and of love now began to revive with redoubled energy in the hearts of wives and mothers. Whilſt they were thus abandoning themſelves to their fears, the ambaſſadors lately arrived from Lacedæmon, entertained us with accounts of the courage which the Spartan women had diſplayed on ſuch occaſions. A young ſoldier, ſhowing his ſword to his mother, ſaid, It is very ſhort. Well then, replied ſhe, you have only to advance a ſtep farther [r]. Another Lacedæmonian woman, while giving her ſon his ſhield [s], ſaid to him, Return with this, or upon this [*].

The troops were preſent at the feſtival of Bacchus, and on the laſt day we witneſſed a ceremony which the circumſtances of the moment rendered peculiarly intereſting. The ſenate, the army, and a prodigious number of citizens of all ranks, and foreigners from every country were ſpectators of it. At the end of the laſt tragedy, we ſaw a herald make his appearance on the ſtage, followed by ſeveral young orphans clad in glittering armour. He advanced in order to preſent them to this auguſt aſſembly; and, with a firm and ſonorous voice, ſlowly pronounced theſe words: "Behold theſe young men whoſe fathers were ſlain in battle after bravely fighting. The people who adopted them have taken care of their education until their twentieth year. This day they give them a complete ſuit of armour; they return them to their homes, and aſſign them the firſt places at our public ſpectacles [t]." Every heart felt the livelieſt emotion. The troops ſhed tears of ſenſibility and joy, and on the next day began their march.

[r] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241.

[s] Ariſt. ap. Stob. ſerm. 7. p. 88. Plut. ibid. Sext. Em. p. Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 181.

[*] At Sparta, to loſe the ſhield was diſhonourable in the higheſt degree; and it was on their ſhields that the dead bodies of ſoldiers were brought from the field of battle.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 46. Plat. in Menex. t. ii. p. 248. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 452. Leſbon. in Protrept. p. 172. Laert. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55.

CHAP. XI.

The Theatre *.

I HAVE juſt been to ſee a tragedy; and, in the confuſed ſtate of my ideas, haſtily commit to paper the impreſſions it has made upon me.

The theatre opened at break of day [u]: I went thither with Philotas. Nothing can be ſo majeſtic as the firſt view. On one ſide we ſee the ſtage ornamented with ſcenes executed by the ableſt artiſts; and on the other, a vaſt amphitheatre lined with ſeats riſing one above the other to a very great height; with landing-places and ſtairs, which, lengthened out, and interſecting each other at intervals, facilitate the communication, and divide the ſeats into ſeveral compartments, ſome of which are reſerved for particular communities and claſſes of citizens.

The people flocked hither in crowds; they kept coming and going, aſcending, deſcending, ſhouting, laughing, preſſing and puſhing each other, and braving the officers, who were running about on all ſides to maintain order [x]. Amid this tumult, the nine archons, or chief magiſtrates of the republic, the courts of juſtice [y], the ſenate of five hundred, the general officers of the army [z], the miniſters of the altars [a] ſucceſſively arrived. Theſe different bodies occupied the lower ſeats: above them were placed all the young men who had attained their eighteenth year [b]. The women were ſtationed in a place that kept them at a diſtance from the men and the courtezans [c].

* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the firſt day of the greater Dionyſia, or grand feſtivals of Bacchus, which, according to Dodwell, always began on the 12th of Elaphebolion, fell on the 8th of April of the year 362 before Chriſt.

[u] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 825. Æſchin. i Cteſiph. p. 440.

[x] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 631. Ulpian. ibid. p. 688. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 733.

[y] Poll. Onom. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 121.

[z] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5. Caſaub. ibid. p. 51.

[a] Heſych. in Νόμοι.

[b] Poll. ibid. § 122. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 795.

[c] Ariſtoph. Eccleſ. v. 22. Schol. ibid.

The orcheſtra was empty. That was ſet apart for emulative conteſts in poetry, muſic, and dancing, which take place after the repreſentation of the pieces; for here all the arts are united to gratify all taſtes.

I ſaw ſome Athenians who had purple carpets ſpread under their feet, and were luxuriouſly lolling on cuſhions brought thither by their ſlaves [d]; others, who, before and during the repreſentation, called for wine, fruit, and biſcuits [e]; others again, who briſkly ſtepped upon the benches to chooſe a commodious place, and take it from the perſon then occupying it [f]. They have a right ſo to do, ſaid Philotas. It is a diſtinction they have received from the republic, as a recompence for ſervices.

Obſerving that I was aſtoniſhed at the number of ſpectators, he told me they might amount to about thirty thouſand [g]. The ſolemnity of theſe feſtivals, ſaid he, attracts people from all parts of Greece, and diffuſes a ſpirit of delirium among the inhabitants of this city. For many days you will ſee them neglect all buſineſs, deny themſelves ſleep, and ſpend part of the day here, without ever being ſatiated with the variety of exhibitions. This pleaſure has double charms for them, as they but ſeldom taſte it. The competition of dramatic pieces takes place only at two other feſtivals. But authors reſerve all their efforts for this. We are promiſed ſeven or eight new pieces [h]. Do not be ſurpriſed: every man in Greece who writes for the theatre is anxious to offer us the homage of his talents [i]. Beſides, we ſometimes revive the pieces of our ancient authors; and the liſts are about to be opened with the Antigone of Sophocles. You will have

d Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 440. Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.

e Philoch. et Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 11. p. 464.

f Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 572. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Πρωτ.

g Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 173 et 175.

h Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 785. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 181.

i Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 183.

the pleaſure of hearing two excellent actors, Theodorus and Ariſtodemus [k].

Philotas had ſcarcely ended, before a herald, after commanding ſilence [l], proclaimed: Let the chorus of Sophocles advance [m]. This was to announce the piece, and a perfect ſilence enſued. The theatre repreſented the veſtibule of the palace of Creon, king of Thebes [n]. Antigone and Iſmene, daughters of Œdipus, opened the ſcene in maſks. Their declamation appears natural, ſaid I; but their voice ſurpriſes me. What are the names of theſe two actreſſes?—Theodorus and Ariſtodemus, anſwered Philotas; for here no women appear on the ſtage [o]. A moment after, a chorus of aged Thebans entered, arranged three in front and five deep, walking with meaſured ſteps, and celebrating, in melodious ſongs, the victory juſt gained by the Thebans over Polynices, brother of Antigone.

The plot now inſenſibly unfolded. Every thing I ſaw and heard was ſo novel to me, that my attention increaſed each inſtant with my ſurpriſe. Hurried along by the enchantment that ſurrounded me, I ſeemed to be in the midſt of Thebes. I beheld Antigone pay the tribute of funeral duties to Polynices, in deſpite of the rigorous prohibition of Creon. I ſaw the tyrant, deaf to the prayers of his ſon, the virtuous Hæmon, whom ſhe was on the point of eſpouſing, order her to be violently dragged into a dark cavern, which appeared at the bottom of the ſtage [p], and which was to become her tomb. Preſently, terrified with the menaces of heaven, he advanced towards the cavern, whence iſſued the moſt dreadful groans. They were the groans of his ſon, holding in cloſe embrace the wretched Antigone, who had terminated her miſeries by the fatal knot. The preſence of Creon irritates his fury: he

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[k] Demoſth. in Falſ. Leg. p. 331.
[l] Ulpian. in Demoſth. p. 687.
[m] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 11. Schol. ibid.
[n] Soph. in Antig. v. 18. Argum. Ariſtoph. Grammat. ibid.
[o] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750. Aul. Gell. lib. 7. cap. 5. Lucian. de Salt. cap. 28. t. ii. p. 285.
[p] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 19. § 124.

draws his ſword againſt his father; then piercing himſelf with it, falls at the feet of his miſtreſs, in whoſe arms he remains locked till he expires.

Almoſt all theſe tragic events paſſed as it were before my eyes, or rather a happy diſtance mitigated their horror. What then is that art that makes me at once experience ſo much pain and pleaſure; that ſtrongly fixes my attention on calamities, which, if realized, it would be impoſſible for me to ſupport? What a marvellous combination of illuſions and realities! I flew to the aid of the two lovers; I deteſted the remorſeleſs author of their ſorrows. The moſt violent paſſions rent my ſoul, without tormenting it; and for the firſt time I found charms even in hatred.

Thirty thouſand ſpectators, melting into tears, redoubled my emotion and delirium. How intereſting did the princeſs appear, when, by the relentleſs guards dragged towards the cavern, her lofty and unconquerable ſoul, yielding to the imperious voice of Nature, for a ſingle moment ſeemed to confeſs weakneſs, and gave utterance to theſe plaintive accents:

"Muſt I then, while yet alive, ſlowly deſcend into the manſions of the dead [q]? Shall I no more behold the light of heaven [r]? O tomb, O funeral bed, eternal habitation [s]! There remains for me but one hope: thou wilt ſerve me as a paſſage to rejoin my family, that diſaſtrous family, of which I periſh the laſt and the moſt wretched [t]. Again ſhall I behold the authors of my being; and they ſhall again behold me with pleaſure. And thou, Polynices, O my brother! thou ſhalt know that, to perform towards thee the duties preſcribed by nature and religion, I have ſacrificed my youth, my life, my nuptials, and whatever was deareſt to me in the world. Alas! all abandon me in this calamitous moment. The Thebans inſult my ſorrows [u]. I have not a friend from whom I can

[q] Sophocl. in Antigon. v. 932.
[r] Id. ibid. v. 891.
[s] Id. ibid. v. 903.
[t] Id. ibid. v. 907.
[u] Id. ibid. v. 850.

obtain a tear[x]. I hear death who calls me, and the gods are ſilent[y]. What are my crimes? If my piety was a crime, I ought to expiate it by my death. If my enemies are guilty, I wiſh them no more dreadful puniſhments than thoſe I ſuffer[z]."

The prize is not to be adjudged till after the repreſentation of all the pieces. That of Sophocles was followed by ſome others, to which I had no longer the power to liſten. I had no more tears to ſhed, no more attention to beſtow.

In this chapter, I have copied the very words of my journal. I ſhall deſcribe elſewhere every thing relative to the dramatic art, and the other ſpectacles which give ſuch ſplendour to the Dionyſiac feſtivals.

CHAP. XII.

Deſcription of Athens.

THERE is not a city in Greece which preſents us with ſo vaſt a number of public buildings and monuments as Athens. Edifices venerable for their antiquity, or admirable for their elegance, raiſe their majeſtic heads on all ſides. Maſterpieces of ſculpture are extremely numerous even in the public places, and concur with the fineſt productions of the pencil, to embelliſh the porticos and temples. Here every thing is animate, every thing ſpeaks to the eyes of the attentive ſpectator. The hiſtory of the monuments of this people would form the hiſtory of their warlike achievements, their gratitude, and religious worſhip.

It is neither my intention minutely to deſcribe them, nor do I pretend to communicate to the minds of my readers the impreſſions made on mine by theſe beautiful works of art.

[x] Id. ibid. v. 894.
[y] Id. ibid. v. 945.
[z] Id. ibid. v. 940.

It is a ſource of the higheſt pleaſure to a traveller, to have enjoyed a number of pleaſing and lively emotions, the remembrance of which is perpetually recurring during the courſe of his whole life; but it is impoſſible for him to participate them with thoſe, who never having experienced the ſame ſenſations, are always more intereſted in the recital of his ſufferings than in the narrative of his pleaſures. I ſhall imitate thoſe guides who ſhow to ſtrangers the curioſities of Olympia and Delphi. I ſhall conduct my reader into the different quarters of Athens: the point of time ſhall be the latter years of my reſidence in Greece, and we will begin by landing at the Piræus *.

This harbour, which contains three leſſer ones [a], lies to the weſt of thoſe of Munychiæ and Phalerum, at this day almoſt totally deſerted. Not leſs than three hundred galleys have ſometimes been collected here at once [b], and it is ſufficiently capacious to contain four hundred † [c]. It was firſt diſcovered, if I may ſo ſpeak, by Themiſtocles, when he laid the plan of giving a navy to the Athenians [d]. Markets and magazines were preſently erected, and an arſenal capable of furniſhing every thing neceſſary for the equipment of a great number of veſſels.

Before we ſet foot on ſhore, let us caſt our eyes on the neighbouring promontory. A ſquare ſtone, without any ornaments, and reſting on a ſimple baſe, forms the ſepulchral monument of Themiſtocles, his body having been brought hither from the place of his exile [e]. Behold thoſe veſſels that are arriving, thoſe that are preparing to depart, or are already under ſail: obſerve thoſe women and children running

* See the plan of Athens, and the note at the end of the volume.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 3. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, première partie, p. 261.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

† Spon and Wheeler obſerve, that this port could hardly contain forty or forty-five of our ſhips.

[c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 395.

[d] Plut. in Themiſt. t. 1. p. 121. Nep. in Them. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 32.

[e] Pauſan. lib. 1. p. 3.

to the ſhore to receive the firſt embraces, or the laſt farewel, of their huſbands and their fathers; thoſe clerks of the cuſtom-houſe hurrying to open the bales which are juſt landed, and to affix their ſeals until they had paid the duty of a fiftieth [f]; thoſe magiſtrates, thoſe inſpectors, who are all in motion; ſome to fix the price of the corn and flour [g]; ſome to give orders for the conveyance of two thirds of it to Athens [h]; and others employed in preventing frauds, and maintaining order [i].

Let us ſtep under one of theſe porticos that encompaſs the harbour [k]. Here a number of merchants, who are on the point of embarking for the Euxine or for Sicily, are borrowing the money they are in want of at heavy intereſt, and drawing up the contract which contains the conditions of the bargain [l]. One is making his declaration before witneſſes, that the merchandiſe he has put on board ſhall, in caſe of ſhipwreck, be at the riſk of the lenders [m]. Farther on, you ſee expoſed on tables, ſamples of corn and other goods lately imported from the Boſphorus [n]. Let us repair to the ſquare of Hippodamus, ſo called from the builder, an architect of Miletus [o]. Here, the productions of all countries are accumulated: this is not the market of Athens, but of all Greece [p].

The Piræus is decorated with a theatre, ſeveral temples, and a great number of ſtatues [q]. As the exiſtence of Athens depends on the ſafety of this harbour, Themiſtocles ſecured it againſt a ſudden attack, by building that noble wall which includes both the town of the Piræus, and the harbour of Munychiæ. This wall is ſixty ſtadia [r] in length, and forty

[f] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 952. Æneas, Poliorc. cap. 29.
[g] Harpocr. et Suid. in Σιτοφύλ.
[h] Dinarch. et Ariſtot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐπιμελ. Etym. Magn. ibid.
[i] Ariſtot. ap. Harpocr. in Ἀγορανομ.
[k] Meurſ. in Pir. cap. 4.
[l] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 949. Theophr. Charact. cap. 23.
[m] Demoſth. adv. Phorm. p. 944.
[n] Harpocr. in Δείγμ. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. cap. 2. § 2.
[o] Meurſ. in Pir. cap. 5.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 38. Iſocr Paneg. t. i. p. 139. Sopatr. de Div. Queſt. ap. Rhet. Græc. t. i. p. 305.
[q] Meurſ. ibid.
[r] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

cubits high *. Themiſtocles wiſhed to raiſe it to the heighth of eighty cubits [s]. Its thickneſs is greater than the ſpace occupied by two waggons. It was built of huge ſquare ſtones, faſtened on the outſide by iron and leaden cramps.

We will now take the road to Athens, and follow this long wall, which extends from the Piræus to the gates of the city, a diſtance of forty ſtadia [t]. It was Themiſtocles likewiſe who planned this wall [u], which was completed under the adminiſtration of Cimon and Pericles [x]. Some years after they built a ſimilar one, though not quite ſo long, from the walls of the city to the port of Phalerum [y]. This wall is on our right. The foundations of both were laid in marſhy ground, which was filled up with huge pieces of rock [z]. By theſe two walls of communication, now called the long walls, the Piræus is encloſed within the precincts of Athens, of which it forms the rampart: After the taking of the city, they were wholly or in part demoliſhed [a]; but at preſent they are almoſt completely reſtored [b].

The road we are following is frequented at all times, and at all hours of the day, by a great number of people, attracted by the proximity, the feſtivals, or commerce of the Piræus.

But let us view the cenotaph before us. This was erected by the Athenians in memory of Euripides, who died in Macedonia [c]. Let us read the firſt words of the inſcription: THE GLORY OF EURIPIDES HAS ALL GREECE FOR A MONUMENT [d].

* The length was 5670 toiſes, and conſequently two French leagues of 2500 toiſes, and 670 toiſes, or about a quarter of a league, more (ſomewhat above 6¼ miles Engliſh.) Its height being 40 cubits, or 60 Grecian feet, was 56⅔ French feet (60½ feet Eng.)

[s] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 93. Appian. Bell. Mithrid. cap. 190. p. 325.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13. Strab. lib. 9 p. 395. Laert. in Antiſth. lib. 6. § 2.

[u] Plut. in Them. t. i. p. 121.

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 107 et 108. Andocid. de Pac. p. 24. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

[y] Andocid. ibid.

[z] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 226. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 441.

[b] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4. p. 537. Diod. lib. 14. p. 303. Nepos in Timoth. cap. 4. Id. in Conon. cap. 4.

[c] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6.

[d] Anthol. lib. 3. p. 273. Thom. Mag. in Vit. Eurip.

Do you ſee that concourſe of ſpectators near the city gate, the litters ſtopping there [e], and that man upon a ſcaffold ſurrounded by workmen? That is Praxiteles. He is going to fix upon a baſe, that ſerves by way of tomb, a grand equeſtrian ſtatue which he has juſt finiſhed [f].

We are now in the city, and cloſe to an edifice called Pompeion [g]; whence it is that thoſe *pomps* or proceſſions of young men and damſels ſet out, who occaſionally diſplay themſelves at the feſtivals celebrated by the other nations. In an adjoining temple dedicated to Ceres, are admirable ſtatues of that goddeſs, Proſerpine, and young Iacchus; all three by the hand of Praxiteles [h].

Let us take a rapid view of thoſe porticos that extend along the ſtreet, and which are wonderfully numerous in the city. Some ſtand detached: others are contiguous to buildings, to which they ſerve as veſtibules. Philoſophers and idle people ſpend part of the day here. In almoſt all of them you ſee paintings and ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip. In that where they ſell flour [i] you will find a picture of Helen, painted by Zeuxis [k].

Let us take this ſtreet on our left; it will lead us to the quarter of the Pnyx, and bring us near to the place where the people hold ſome of their aſſemblies [l]. This quarter, which is very populous, is contiguous to that of the Ceramicus, or pottery-grounds, ſo called from the earthen ware formerly fabricated there [m]. This extenſive ſpace is divided into two parts; one without the walls, where the academy is ſituated; the other within, in which is the grand ſquare, or forum.

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[e] Dinarch. Orat. adv. Demoſth. in Oper. Demoſth. p. 177.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6.
[g] *Id.* ibid.
[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Heſych. in Ἀλφίτ. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 682.
[k] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 11. p. 868. lin. 37.
[l] Meurſ. de Popul. Athen. in voce Pnyx.
[m] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 12. p. 710. Suid. in Κεραμ. Meurſ. Ceram.

We will ſtop a moment at the royal portico, which merits our attention in ſeveral points of view. The ſecond of the archons, ſtyled the king-archon, holds his tribunal here[n]: here too the areopagus ſometimes aſſembles[o]. The ſtatues on the roof are of earthen ware, and repreſent Theſeus precipitating Sciron into the ſea, and Aurora carrying off Cephalus[p]. That figure in bronze which you ſee at the gate, is Pindar. He is repreſented crowned with a diadem, with a book on his knees, and a lyre in his hand[q]. Thebes, his native country, offended at the eulogium he had beſtowed on the Athenians, having been mean enough to condemn him to a pecuniary fine, Athens decreed him this monument, leſs perhaps from eſteem for the poet, than from hatred of the Thebans. Not far from the ſtatue of Pindar are thoſe of Conon, of his ſon Timotheus, and of Evagoras, king of Cyprus[r].

Near the royal portico is that of Jupiter Liberator[s], where Euphranor the painter has lately repreſented, in a ſeries of pictures, the twelve gods, Theſeus, the people of Athens, and that engagement of the cavalry in which Gryllus, the ſon of Xenophon, attacked the Thebans commanded by Epaminondas[t]. They are eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from each other, and the painter has expreſſed, with all the fire of genius, the courage and ardour with which both were animated[u]. The Apollo of the adjoining temple is by the ſame hand[x].

From the royal portico two ſtreets branch out, and terminate in the forum. Let us take that on the right. It is decorated, as you ſee, by a number of Hermæ, the name given to thoſe heads of Mercury ſupported by pedeſtals in the form of a ſheath. Some of theſe have been erected by private individu-

[n] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 8.
[o] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 831.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 8.
[q] Æſchin. Epiſt. 4. p. 207.
[r] Iſocr. in Evagor. t. ii. p. 98. Demoſt. in Leptin. p. 551. Pauſ. ibid.
[s] Meurſ. in Ceram. cap. 4.
[t] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 3. p. 9.
[u] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346.
[x] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 9.

ils; others, by order of the magiſtrates [y]. Almoſt all of them record glorious achievements. On ſome are inſcribed leſſons of wiſdom. For the latter Athens is indebted to Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus. He had put into verſe the moſt ſublime precepts of morality, and cauſed them to be engraved on a number of Hermæ erected by his orders in the ſquares, croſs-ways, many of the ſtreets of Athens, and in the towns of Attica. On one, for example, was inſcribed, ALWAYS TAKE JUSTICE FOR YOUR GUIDE; on another, NEVER VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OF FRIENDSHIP [z]. Theſe maxims no doubt have contributed to render the language of the inhabitants of the country places ſo ſententious.

This ſtreet is terminated by two porticos that front the forum. The one is that of the Hermæ [b]; the other, and moſt handſome of the two, is called the Pœcile. In the former are three ſtatues of Hermes, on which, after any advantages gained over the Medes, they formerly inſcribed the eulogium decreed by the people, not to the generals, but to the ſoldiers who had conquered under their command [c]. At the gate of the Pœcile is the ſtatue of Solon [d]. The walls within are covered with bucklers taken from the Lacedæmonians, and other nations [e], and enriched with the works of Polygnotus, Micon, Panœnus, and other celebrated painters. In theſe pictures, the beauty of which it is eaſier to feel than to deſcribe, we view the taking of Troy, the ſuccours given by the Athenians to the Heraclidæ, the battles they fought with the Lacedæmonians at Oenoë, with the Perſians at Marathon, and the Amazons in Athens itſelf [f].

The forum, which is extremely ſpacious, is decorated with buildings deſtined to the worſhip of the gods, or the ſervice

[y] Harpocr. in Ἑρμ.
[z] Plat. in Hipp. t. ii. p. 229. Heſych. in Ἱππαρχ. Suid. in Ἑρμ.
[a] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. t. ii. p. 572.
[b] Mneſim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. p. 402.
[c] Æſchin. in Ctcſiph. p. 458.
[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 847. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 38. Ælian. lib. 8. cap. 16.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 15.
[f] Meurſ. Athen. Att. lib. 1. cap. 5.

of the ſtate; others that ſometimes afford an aſylum to the wretched; but which are too often a ſhelter for the wicked; and ſtatues decreed to kings and individuals who have merited well of the republic [g].

Follow me, and under the ſhade of the plane trees that embelliſh theſe places [h], let us take a turn along one ſide of the ſquare. This ſpacious encloſure contains a temple in honour of the mother of the gods, and the palace in which the ſenate aſſembles [i]. In theſe edifices, and all around them, are placed cippi, and columns, on which are engraven ſeveral of the laws of Solon, and the decrees of the people [k]. To that rotunda, ſurrounded by trees [l], the prytanes, in rotation of duty, go every day to dine, and ſometimes to offer up ſacrifices for the proſperity of the people [m].

In the middle of ten ſtatues, which give their names to the tribes of Athens [n], the firſt archon holds his tribunal [o]. Here the eyes of the enchanted ſpectator every moment meet the works of genius. In the temple of the mother of the gods you have ſeen a ſtatue of the goddeſs, executed by Phidias [p]; in the temple of Mars, before us, you will find that of the god, the workmanſhip of Alcamenes, a pupil worthy of Phidias [q].

Similar monuments are to be met with on every ſide of the forum. In the middle are encamped the Scythians kept in pay by the republic to maintain order [r]. There is the place in which the people ſometimes aſſemble, but it is now covered with tents, in which different kinds of wares are expoſed to ſale [s]. Farther on you ſee a crowd which it is almoſt impoſſible to paſs through. There are ſold the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of ſo numerous a people. It is the

[g] Id. Ceram. cap. 16.
[h] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.
[i] Plut. in X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μητρωον.
[k] Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 165. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458. Harpocr. in ἀ Καθωτιν.
[l] Suid. in Heſych. in Σκιας.
[m] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 332. Ulp. ibid. p. 388. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 12. Meurſ. Ceram. cap. 7.
[n] Pauſan. ibid.
[o] Suid. in Ἄρχων.
[p] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 3. p. 9.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 20.
[r] Meurſ. Ceram. cap. 16.
[s] Demoſth. in Lor. p. 501. Id. in Neær. p. 875. Taylor. Not. in De-

grand market, divided into ſeveral particular ones, frequented at all hours of the day, and eſpecially from nine o'clock till noon. Collectors attend there to receive the duties laid on every thing that is ſold, and magiſtrates to ſuperintend what is paſſing. I ſhall mention to you two very wiſe laws, for the regulation of this untractable and tumultuous populace. The one prohibits any man from reproaching the loweſt citizen with living by the profit of his traffic in the market [t], the government wiſhing to prevent a uſeful profeſſion from being treated as an object of contempt. The other forbids any perſon to employ falſehood for the purpoſe of exaction [u]. Vanity has maintained the former of theſe, but intereſt has rendered the latter of no effect. As the forum is the moſt frequented part of the city, workmen of all kinds endeavour to reſide near it [x], and houſes let there at a higher price than elſewhere.

I am now about to conduct you to the temple of Theſeus, built by Cimon, ſome years after the battle of Salamis. Though ſmaller than that of Minerva, of which I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak, and which appears to have been built after the ſame model [y], it is, like that, of the Doric order, and of a very elegant architecture. Skilful painters have enriched it with their immortal labours [z].

After paſſing by the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, by that of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops, and the Prytaneum, where ſome citizens who have rendered ſignal ſervices to the ſtate are maintained at the expence of the republic [a], we are now arrived at the ſtreet of the tripods [b], which ſhould rather be named the ſtreet of triumphs; for here is it, in fact, that the glory of the victors in thoſe conteſts that embelliſh our feſti-

moſth. p. 620. Harpocr. in τέττιξ

[t] Demoſth. in Eubul. p. 886.

[u] Demoſth. in Lept. p. 542. Ulpian. ibid. p. 570. Hyperid. ap. Harpocr. in κατὰ τὸν, &c.

[x] Lyſ. adv. Delat. p. 413.

[y] Le Roi, Ruines, de la Grèce. t. i. p. 18.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 40.

[a] Meurſ. de Ath. Att. lib. 1. cap. 7 et 8.

[b] Athen. lib. 12. p. 542 et 543. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.

vals is, if I may ſo ſpeak, annually depoſited. I mean thoſe trials of ſkill which take place between muſicians or dancers of different ages, each tribe naming its own candidates. That which has gained the victory, dedicates a tripod of braſs ſometimes in a temple, ſometimes in a houſe they have built in this ſtreet [c]. You ſee thoſe numerous offerings on the roofs, or in the inſide, of the elegant buildings we have on each ſide of us [d]. They are accompanied with inſcriptions, which, according to circumſtances, contain the name of the chief archon of the tribe that has been victorious; of the citizen who, under the denomination of choregus, had the regulation of the performers; of the poet who compoſed the verſes; of the maſter who had the direction of the chorus; and of the muſician who accompanied the ſongs with his flute [e]. Let us approach. Behold the vanquiſhers of the Perſians here celebrated for having appeared at the head of choruſes! Read under that tripod: THE TRIBE ANTIOCHIS GAINED THE PRIZE; ARISTIDES WAS CHOREGUS; ARCHESTRATUS COMPOSED THE PIECE [f]. Under that other: THEMISTOCLES WAS CHOREGUS; PHRYNICUS WROTE THE TRAGEDY; ADIMANTUS WAS ARCHON [g] *.

The works of architecture and ſculpture which ſurround us, aſtoniſh as much by the excellence of the workmanſhip, as by the motives that produced them; but all their beauties vaniſh before the ſatyr you are about to ſee in that edifice [h], eſteemed by Praxitelles one of the fineſt of his productions, and ranked by the public among the maſter pieces of art.

The ſtreet of the tripods leads to the theatre of Bacchus. It was but fitting that the trophies ſhould be erected near the field of battle; for it is at the theatre that the choruſes of the

[c] Chandler. Inſcript. part 2. p. 48.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.
[e] Vandal. Diſſert. de Gymnaſ. cap. 5. p. 672. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99.
[f] Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 318.
[g] Id. in Them. t. i. p. 114.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. p. 653. Athen. lib. 13. p. 591.

reſpective tribes uſually diſpute the palm [i]. There alſo is it that the people ſometimes aſſemble, either to deliberate on affairs of ſtate, or to be preſent at the repreſentation of tragedies and comedies. At Marathon, at Salamis, and Platæa, the Athenians triumphed only over the Perſians; here they have triumphed over all the nations now exiſting, perhaps over all that are yet to be born; and the names of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, ſhall not be leſs celebrated in future ages, than thoſe of Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles.

Oppoſite to the theatre is one of the moſt ancient temples of Athens [k]; that of Bacchus, ſurnamed the god of the wine preſs. It is ſituated in the quarter of the marſhes [l], and is opened only once a year [m]. In the wide ſpace in which it ſtands, public ſpectacles were formerly exhibited on certain feſtivals, before the theatre was built [n].

At length we are arrived at the foot of the ſtairs that lead up to the citadel [o]. Obſerve how the proſpect extends and becomes more beautiful on all ſides as you aſcend. Caſt your eyes to the left, on that cavern, hollowed out of the rock, conſecrated to Pan, near to that fountain [p]. There Apollo received the favours of Creuſa, daughter of king Erechtheus, and there he receives at this day the homage of the Athenians, ever attentive to ſanctify the foibles of their gods.

Let us ſtop for a while before that ſuperb edifice of the Doric order, which now preſents itſelf to view. This is called the propylæa or veſtibules of the citadel. Pericles had them built of marble, after the deſigns, and under the inſpection of the architect Mneſicles [q]. Begun under the ar-

i Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.

k Id. in Neær. p. 873. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.

l Athen. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 465. Iſæus ap. Harpocr. Ἐν λίμναις. Heſych. in λίμναι.

m Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 15.

n Heſych. in Ἐπὶ λήναιῳ.

Athenian medal in the cabinet of the king of France.

p Eurip. in Ion. v. 17. 501. 936. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 68. Lucian. in his Accuſ. t. ii. p. 801.

q Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.

chonſhip of Euthymenes *, they were not completed till five years after; and are ſaid to have coſt two thouſand and twelve talents †[r], an exorbitant ſum, exceeding the whole annual revenue of the republic.

The temple we have on our left is dedicated to Victory. Let us ſtep into the building on the right, to admire the paintings which adorn its walls, and are principally the work of Polygnotus [s]. Let us return to the centre of the building, examine the ſix beautiful columns which ſupport the pediment, and walk through the veſtibule divided into three parts by a double row of Ionic pillars, terminated on the oppoſite ſide by five doors, through which we diſtinguiſh the columns of the periſtyle that looks towards the inſide of the citadel [t] ‡. Obſerve, in paſſing, thoſe large blocks of marble which compoſe the ceiling, and ſuſtain the roof.

We are now in the citadel [u]. Obſerve the immenſe number of ſtatues which gratitude and religion have erected here, and on which the chiſels of Myron, Phidias, Alcamenes, and other artiſts of renown, ſeem to have beſtowed animation. Here Pericles, Phormio, Iphicrates, Timotheus, and other Athenian generals, will live for ever. Their noble ſtatues are intermingled, without diſtinction, with thoſe of the gods [x].

This kind of apotheoſis made a forcible impreſſion on me, on my firſt arrival in Greece. I thought I beheld in every city two ſpecies of citizens, thoſe who at their deaths were conſigned to oblivion, and thoſe on whom the arts beſtow an eternal exiſtence. The one I conſidered as the children of men, the ſecond as the ſons of glory. But at length, from ſeeing ſo great a number of ſtatues, I have no longer been able to diſtinguiſh the two claſſes.

* The year 437 before J. C.

† 10,864,800 livres (452,700l.)

[r] Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Πρωτύλ.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 51.

[t] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 2. p. 13 et 47. Pauſan. ibid.

‡ See the plan of the propylæa.

[u] Meurſ. in Cecrop.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 1. paſſim.

Let us approach theſe two altars. Revere the firſt; it is the altar of Modeſty: affectionately embrace the ſecond; it is that of Friendſhip [y]. Read on that column of bronze a decree which proſcribes and devotes to opprobrium a citizen and his poſterity, for receiving Perſian gold to corrupt the Greeks [z]. Thus are civil actions immortalized to produce good ones, and good to ſtimulate to ſtill better. Lift up your eyes, and admire the work of Phidias. Yonder is the coloſſal ſtatue of bronze which the Athenians dedicated to Minerva, after the battle of Marathon [a].

All the diſtricts of Attica are under the protection of this goddeſs [b], but it ſhould appear that ſhe has fixed her reſidence in the citadel. What innumerable ſtatues, altars, and ſtructures in her honour! Among theſe ſtatues there are three, the materials and workmanſhip of which exhibit the progreſs of luxury and the arts. The firſt is ſo antique, that it is ſaid to have fallen from heaven [c]; it is ſhapeleſs, and of olive wood. The ſecond, I have been ſhowing you, is the work of an age, when, from among all the various kinds of metals, the Athenians only made uſe of iron to obtain ſucceſs, and braſs to eternize it. The third, which we ſhall ſee preſently, was ſculptured by order of Pericles, and is of gold and ivory [d].

Here we meet with a temple, conſiſting of two chapels, one dedicated to Minerva Polias, the other to Neptune Erechtheus [e]. Remark the manner in which fabulous traditions may ſometimes be reconciled with hiſtorical facts. You are here ſhown, on one ſide, the olive tree which ſprang out of the earth at the command of the goddeſs; and which has ſo greatly multiplied in Attica; and, on the other, the well,

y Heſych. in Αἰδώς.
z Demoſth. Philipp. 4. p. 91. Id de Falſ. Leg. p. 336. Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 114.
a Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 336. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 67.
b Pauſan. ibid. cap. 26. p. 63.
c Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 63.
d Schol. in Demoſth. Orat. adv. Androt. p. 440.
e Meurſ. Cecrop. cap. 20.

whence they pretend that Neptune cauſed the water of the ſea to guſh out [f]. By ſuch bounties was it that theſe divinities aſpired to the honour of beſtowing their names on this riſing city. The gods decided in favour of Minerva; and the Athenians for ages preferred agriculture to commerce [g]. Since they have combined theſe two ſources of wealth, they divide their homage in the ſame hallowed place between both their benefactors; and, to complete the conciliation, have erected one common altar, which they call the altar of Oblivion [h].

Before the ſtatue of the goddeſs is ſuſpended a golden lamp, above which is a branch of palm, of the ſame metal, that reaches to the ceiling. It burns night and day [i], and the oil is renewed but once a-year. The wick, which is made of amianthus [k], is never conſumed, and the ſmoke eſcapes by a tunnel concealed under the foliage of the palm branch. This lamp is the work of Callimachus, and ſo highly finiſhed as to incline thoſe who view it to wiſh that it had more of the grace of negligence; but this was the general fault of that too careful artiſt. He loſt ſight of perfection by ſtriving to attain it; and, by being diſſatisfied with himſelf, failed to give ſatisfaction to perſons of real taſte [l].

In this part of the temple was preſerved the rich ſcymetar of Mardonius, who commanded the Perſian army at the battle of Platæa; and the cuiraſs of Maſiſtius who fought at the head of the cavalry [m]. In the veſtibule of the Parthenon was likewiſe to be ſeen the throne with ſilver feet, on which Xerxes placed himſelf to be a ſpectator of the ſea fight of Salamis [n]; and in

[f] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 55. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62. Meurſ. Cecrop. cap. 19.

[g] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 121.

[h] Plut. Sympoſ. lib. 9. quæſt. 6. t. ii. p. 741.

[i] Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 26. p. 63. Strab. lib. 9. p. 606.

[k] Salmaſ. in Solin. t. i. p. 178.

[l] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 658. Pauſan. ibid.

[m] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 793. Ulpian. in 3 Olynth. p. 45. Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 2. cap. 13. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 27. p. 64.

[n] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 793. Harpocr. in Ἀγγυρίου.

the ſacred treaſury were preſerved the remains of the ſpoils found in the camp of the Perſians[o]. Theſe ſpoils, the greateſt part of which have been carried off in our time by ſacrilegious hands, were trophies that furniſhed a ſubject of pride to the Athenians of the preſent day, as if they had acquired them by their own valour; like theſe families, who, having formerly produced great men, endeavour to make us forget what they now are, by the memory of what they have been.

That other building called Opiſthodomos, is the public treaſury[p]. It is ſurrounded by a double wall. Treaſurers, choſen annually by lot, depoſit there the ſums placed by the ſenate in their hands[q], and the chief of the prytanes, who is changed every day, is intruſted with the key.

Your eyes have long been turning towards that famous temple of Minerva, one of the nobleſt ornaments of Athens, which is known by the name of the Parthenon. Before you enter it, permit me to read you a letter I wrote, on my return from Perſia, to Othanes, one of the magi, with whom I lived in the cloſeſt intimacy during my reſidence at Suza. He was acquainted with the hiſtory of Greece, and wiſhed to inform himſelf of the cuſtoms of different nations. As he had requeſted from me ſome explanations reſpecting the Grecian temples, the following was the letter I wrote to him:

"You aſſert that we ought not to repreſent the Deity under a human form, nor circumſcribe his preſence within the limits of a ſtructure built by men[s]. But you would not have adviſed Cambyſes, when in Egypt, to inſult the objects of religious worſhip[t], nor Xerxes to deſtroy the temples and ſtatues of Greece[u]. Theſe princes, ſuperſtitious even to extravagance, knew not that a nation pardons violence more

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[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[p] Meurſ. Cecrop. cap. 26.
[q] Ariſt. ap. Harpocr. in Ταμ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 97.
[r] Argum. Orat. Demoſt. in Androt. p. 697. Suid. in Ἐπιστάτ.
[s] Herod. lib. 1. cap. 131. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. iii. p. 145.
[t] Id. lib. 3. cap. 25, 29, &c.
[u] Æſchyl. in Perſ. v. 811. Herod. lib. 8. cap. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 332.

readily than contempt, and deems itſelf debaſed whenever what it holds in reverence is deſpiſed and profaned. Greece has forbidden the reſtoration of the ſacred monuments overthrown by the Perſians [x]. Theſe await the moment of vengeance; and ſhould the Greeks ever carry their victorious arms into the dominions of the Great King, they will remember Xerxes, and reduce your cities to aſhes [y].

"The Greeks borrowed the idea [z] and the form of their temples from the Egyptians; but the proportions of the architecture [a] which they have employed in theſe edifices, are more elegant, or ſuch at leaſt as are more conformable to their taſte.

"I ſhall not undertake to give you a minute deſcription of their different parts, but ſend you the plan of that erected in honour of Theſeus *. Four walls, diſpoſed in the form of a parallelogram or oblong ſquare, conſtitute the nave or body of the building. Its principal decoration and chief merit is exterior, and is as diſtinct from it as the dreſſes that diſtinguiſh the various claſſes of citizens. This conſiſts in a portico that runs round the building, and of which the columns, founded on a baſe compoſed of ſeveral ſteps, ſupport an entablature crowned by a pediment at the anterior and poſterior extremities. This portico gives equal grace and majeſty to the edifice, and contributes to the luſtre of the ceremonies, by the great number of ſpectators which it can contain, and ſhelter from the weather [b].

"In the veſtibule are vaſes of luſtral water [c], and altars on which the ſacrifices are uſually offered [d]. From hence, as

[x] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 203. Lycurg. cont. Leocr. part. 2. p. 158. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 35. p. 887. Diod. lib. 11. p. 24.

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 545. Strab. l. 15. p. 730. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 7.

[z] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 4.

[a] Voyag. de. Norden, pl. 132. Pococke, t. i. pl. 44, 45, &c. Moſaiq. de. Paleſtr. in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxx. p. 503.

* See the plate relative to this chapter, No. 1.

[b] Vitruv. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 42.

[c] Caſaub. in Theophr. cap. 16. p. 126. Duport. ibid. p. 456.

[d] Euripid. Iphig. in Taur. v. 72 Poll. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 6, &c.

we enter the temple, the ſtatue of the divinity, and votive offerings, dedicated by the piety of the people, are ſeen. It has no light but what it receives from the entrance * [e].

"The plan you have before you may be varied according to the rules of art, and the taſte of the artiſt. As, for inſtance, in the dimenſions: The temple of Jupiter, at Olympia, is two hundred and thirty feet long, ninety-five broad, and ſixty-eight in height [f]. That of Jupiter, at Agrigentum, in Sicily [g], is three hundred and forty feet long, one hundred and ſixty wide, and one hundred and twenty high †.

"It admits alſo of variety in the number of columns. Sometimes we find two, four, ſix, eight, and even as many as ten, in the two fronts; ſometimes they are placed only at the anterior front. In ſome temples, a double portico is formed round the whole building by two rows of columns.

"Variety is alſo admitted in the ornaments and proportions of the columns and entablature; and here the genius of the Greeks ſhines forth. After various experiments, having combined their ideas and diſcoveries into a ſyſtem, they compoſed two ſpecies or orders of architecture, each poſſeſſing a diſtinctive character and peculiar beauties; the one more ancient, more maſculine, and more ſubſtantial, called the Doric; the other more light and elegant, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Ionic. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Corinthian, as it does not eſſentially differ from the two others [h].

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* See the note at the end of the volume.

[e] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 89.

[f] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 398.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 203.

† Length of the temple of Olympia, 217 French feet, 2 inches, 8 lines (232 feet 9 inch. Engliſh); its breadth, 89 feet, 8 inches, 8 lines (95 feet Engliſh); its height, 64 feet, 2 inches, 8 lines (68 ft. 7 inch. Engliſh). Length of the temple of Agrigentum, 331 feet, 1 inch, 4 lines (343 feet Engliſh); its breadth, 151 feet, 1 inch, 4 lines (161 feet 4 inch. Engliſh); its height, 113 feet, 4 lines (120 feet 8 inches Engliſh). Winklemann (Recueil de ſes Lettres, t. i. p. 282.) preſumes, with reaſon, that the breadth of this temple was 160 Grecian feet, inſtead of 60, as the text of Diodorus, as we now have it, imports.

[h] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, p. 15. de l'Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire de l'Architect.

" In fine, a variety may alſo have place in the interior parts of theſe ſtructures. Some contain a ſanctuary not to be entered by the profane [h]: others are divided into ſeveral departments. Some there are in which, beſides the principal gate of entrance, there is a ſecond at the oppoſite extremity, or one, the roof of which is ſupported by one or by two ranges of columns *.

" The better to enable you to judge of the form of the temples of Greece, I ſhall annex two drawings to my letter, in which you will find repreſented the front and general view of the Parthenon, at the citadel of Athens †. I ſhall likewiſe ſend you the work compoſed by Ictinus on this beautiful ſtructure [i]. Ictinus was one of the two architects employed by Pericles in the building of this temple, the name of the other was Callicrates [k].

" From whatever quarter the traveller arrives, whether by ſea or land, he views it rearing up its lofty head above the city and the citadel [l]. It is of the Doric order, and built of that beautiful white marble, found in the quarries of Pentelicus, a mountain of Attica. It is one hundred feet wide, about two hundred and twenty-ſix long, and about ſixty-nine in height ‡. The portico is double at the two fronts, and ſingle on each ſide. Along the exterior face of the nave runs a frize or architrave, on which is repreſented a proceſſion in honour of Minerva [m]. Theſe baſſo-relievos have added greatly to the fame of the artiſts by whom they were executed.

" Within this temple is that ſtatue ſo celebrated for its ſize, the richneſs of the materials, and the exquiſite beauty

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[h] Valer. Max. lib. 1. cap. 6. § 12. Poll. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 8. Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. lib. 3. cap. 105.

* See note at the end of the volume.

† See the plate before referred to, Nos. 2. and 3.

[i] Vitruv. Præf. lib. 7. p. 125.

[k] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 159. Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Pauſan. cap. 41. p. 685.

[l] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, part 1. p. 8.

‡ See note at the end of the volume.

[m] Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 51.

of the workmanſhip. By the ſublime majeſty that irradiates the features, and the whole figure of Minerva, we eaſily recogniſe the hand of Phidias. The ideas of this artiſt were ſo ſublime, that he has ſucceeded better, if poſſible, in the repreſentation of the gods, than in that of mortals [n]. We are almoſt tempted to ſay that he had viewed the latter from too great a height, but the former face to face.

" This figure is twenty-ſix cubits high. The goddeſs is erect, covered with the ægis and a long tunic [*], holding in one hand a lance, in the other a victory near four cubits high [*]. Her helmet, on which is a ſphinx, is ornamented on each ſide with two griffins. On the outſide of the ſhield, which lies at the feet of the goddeſs, Phidias has repreſented the battle of the Amazons; on the inſide, the combat of the gods and giants; on her buſkins, that of the Lapithæ and Centaurs; and on the pedeſtal, the birth of Pandora, and a variety of other ſubjects. The viſible parts of the body are of ivory, except the eyes, the iris of which is imitated by a particular kind of ſtone [p]. This able artiſt has exhibited a wonderful degree of taſte in the execution of his work, and proved that his genius ſtill retained its ſuperiority even in the moſt minute details [q].

" Before he began this ſtatue, he was obliged to give an account to the aſſembly of the people, of the materials which he intended to employ. He gave the preference to marble, becauſe its ſplendour ſubſiſts longeſt. Thus far he was liſtened to with attention, but when he added that it was the cheapeſt, he was commanded to ſay no more; and it was determined that the ſtatue ſhould be formed of gold and ivory [r].

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[n] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 57 et 58. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 726. Max. Tyr. diſſ. 14. p. 156. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 208.

[*] The cubit among the Greeks being one of their feet and a half, the height of the figure was 36 of our feet and 10 inches (39 feet 4 inches); and that of the victory, 5 feet 8 inches (6 feet Engliſh.)

[p] Plat. in Hipp. t. iii. p. 290. Plin. lib. 37. p. 787 et 788.

[q] Plin. lib. 36 cap. 5. t. ii. p. 726.

[r] Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 7.

For this purpoſe the pureſt gold was ſelected, and it was neceſſary to provide a quantity of the weight of forty talents * [s]. Phidias, by the ſuggeſtions of Pericles, applied this in ſuch a way as eaſily to admit of being taken off. Two motives induced Pericles to give this advice: he foreſaw that a time might come when it ſhould be neceſſary to employ this gold for the urgent neceſſities of the ate, a meaſure which he in fact propoſed at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war [t]. He foreſaw likewiſe, that himſelf as well as Phidias might hereafter be accuſed of having applied part of it to other purpoſes, and of this they afterwards really were accuſed [u]; but by the precautions they had uſed, the ſlanderous charge only redounded to the diſhonour of their enemies †.

" Phidias was reproached likewiſe with having ſculptured his own portrait and that of his patron, on the ſhield of Minerva. He had there repreſented himſelf in the character of an old man in the act of throwing a huge ſtone; and it is pretended that, by an ingenious piece of mechaniſm, this figure was ſo connected with the whole, as to make it impoſſible to remove it, without diſuniting and totally deſtroying the ſtatue [x]. Pericles appears fighting with an Amazon. His arm extended and holding a javelin, hides from the ſpectator one half of his countenance. The object of the artiſt in this partial concealment, is only to engage the attention of curioſity.

" To this temple is annexed a treaſury, in which individuals depoſit ſuch ſums of money as they chooſe not to keep at home. There likewiſe are preſerved the offerings made to the goddeſs, which conſiſt of crowns, vaſes, and little figures of the divinities, of gold or ſilver. The Athenian women

* Theſe 40 talents were worth about three millions of livres (125,000l. Sterling). See note at the end of the volume on the quantity of gold employed to enrich this ſtatue.

[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

[t] Id ibid.

[u] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 169.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[x] De Mund. ap. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 613. Cicer. Orat. cap. 71. t. i. p. 481. Id. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 245.

likewiſe frequently make offerings in this temple, of their rings, bracelets, and necklaces. Theſe are intruſted to the treaſurers of the goddeſs, who have them under their care during the year they remain in office; on the expiration of which time they deliver to their ſucceſſors a liſt, ſpecifying the weight of each article and the name of the donor. The inventory, which is immediately cut in marble [y], is a teſtimonial of the fidelity of the keepers, and an incentive to private liberality.

"This temple, that of Theſeus, and ſome others, conſtitute the triumph of architecture and ſculpture. Were I to expatiate at large on the beauties of the whole, and on the elegance of the minuter parts, I could add nothing to this eulogium. Be not amazed at the prodigious number of edifices erected in honour of the gods. As manners become more depraved, laws have been proportionally multiplied to prevent crimes, and altars to expiate them become more numerous: beſides that, ſuch monuments embelliſh a city, encourage the arts, and are in general conſtructed at the expence of the enemy; for a portion of the ſpoils taken in war is always deſtined to maintain the magnificence of religious worſhip."

Such was the anſwer I wrote to Othanes, the magus. At preſent, without going out of the citadel, we will take different poſitions, that will ſucceſſively diſplay the whole city to our view.

Of late years, it has extended towards the ſouth-weſt, commerce daily attracting the inhabitants to the vicinity of the Piræus. On that ſide, and to the weſt, we ſee, in the environs of the citadel, at different intervals, rocks and eminences [z] covered in general with houſes. On our right we have the riſing ground on which ſtands the Areopagus, on the

y Chandl. Inſcript. in notis part 2. p. xv. Poll. lib. 10. cap. 28. § 126.

z Wheel. Journ. book 5. p. 388. Spon. Chandl. &c.

left that of the Muſeum, and towards the centre, that of the Pnyx, where, as I have ſaid, the general aſſembly is ſometimes held. We here may obſerve to what a height the two parties that divide Athens carry their mutual jealouſy. As from the top of this hill the Piræus may be diſtinctly ſeen, there was a time when the orators, turning their eyes towards the harbour, uſed every art to induce the people to ſacrifice every other object to their navy. The partizans of the ariſtocracy deeply offended at this, alleged that the firſt legiſlators had only favoured agriculture, and that Themiſtocles, by uniting the city to the Piræus, and thus connecting the ſea and land, had increaſed the number of the ſailors, and the power of the multitude. Accordingly, after the taking of Athens, the firſt meaſure adopted by the thirty tyrants appointed by Lyſander, was to turn the roſtrum, from which the orators harangued the people, toward the land, whereas it before had always fronted the ſea [a].

I have not taken notice of ſeveral edifices ſituated on the ſides and in the environs of the citadel. Such among others, are the Odeum and the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The former is a kind of theatre built by Pericles for muſical competitions [b]. In it the ſix junior archons ſometimes hold their meetings [c]. The roof, which is ſupported by columns, is built with the fragments of ſhips of the Perſian fleet defeated at Salamis [d]. The temple of Jupiter Olympius was begun by Piſiſtratus, and would, it is ſaid, had it been finiſhed [e], have been the moſt magnificent of temples.

Your progreſs has been often interrupted, and your eyes have been frequently aſtoniſhed and delighted, in the road we have purſued from the Piræus to the place in which we now are. There are few ſtreets, few ſquares in this city, in which you will not meet with ſimilar objects to excite and

[a] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 121.
[b] Meurſ. in Ceram. cap. 11.
[c] Demoſth. in Near. p. 869.
[d] Theophr. Charact. cap. 3. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 160.
[e] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 8. Meurſ. Athen. Attic. cap. 10.

gratify curiosity. But do not rely wholly on appearances. The edifice, the most uninviting externally, sometimes contains a precious treasure within. Towards the north, in the quarter of Melita, see if you cannot discern some trees around a house that is hardly distinguishable: that is the abode of Phocion [f]. On this other side, in the middle of those houses, in a little temple dedicated to Venus, is a picture of Zeuxis, representing the god of love crowned with roses [g]; lower down, near that eminence, stands another building, where the rival of Zeuxis has made one of those essays which discover a superior genius. Parrhasius, persuaded that it was within the reach of his art, either by the expression of the countenance, or by the attitude and air of the figures, to render the qualities of the mind and heart perceptible to the eye [h], undertook, in his portrait of the people of Athens, to trace out the character, or rather the various characters, of that violent, unjust, gentle, compassionate, vain-glorious, crouching, haughty, and timid people [i]. But how has he succeeded in this ingenious thought? I will not deprive you of the pleasure of the surprise; you shall judge for yourself.

I have hastily accompanied you through the city; you are now to view, at one comprehensive glance, the adjacent country. To the east is Mount Hymettus, which the bees enrich with their honey, and which invites you by the fragrancy of its thyme. The Ilissus, that glides at the foot of it, meanders round our walls; above you see the gymnasia of the Cynosarges and the Lyceum. To the north-west you discover the academy, and, a little farther, a hill named Colonos, on which Sophocles has laid the scene of his Œdipus Coloneus. The Cephisus, after enriching this district with the tribute of its waters, at length mingles them with those

[f] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 750.
[g] Aristoph. Acharn. v. 991. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ἀγάθων.
[h] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 781.
[i] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 693.

of the Iliſſus. Both theſe ſtreams are occaſionally dry during the great heats of ſummer. The proſpect is embelliſhed by handſome country houſes which preſent themſelves to the view on all ſides.

I ſhall conclude, by reminding you of what Lyſippus ſays in one of his comedies: "Whoever does not deſire to ſee Athens is ſtupid; whoever ſees it without being delighted is ſtill more ſtupid; but the height of ſtupidity is to ſee it, to admire it, and to leave it [k]."

CHAP. XIII.

*Battle of Mantinea *.—Death of Epaminondas.*

GREECE was now on the eve of an important revolution; Epaminondas was at the head of an army; and on his victory or defeat finally depended the queſtion whether the Lacedæmonians or Thebans were to give law to the other ſtates of Greece. The opportunity appeared favourable to him for haſtening this deciſion.

He left Tegea, in Arcadia, in the beginning of the night, with the view of ſurpriſing Lacedæmon [l]. This city is entirely expoſed, and had at that time none but children and old men for its defenders, part of the troops being then in Arcadia, and the remainder on their march thither under the command of Ageſilaus. The Thebans arrived at break of day [m], but found Ageſilaus ready to receive them. Informed by a deſerter of the march of Epaminondas, he had returned home with extraordinary celerity, and his ſoldiers already oc-

[k] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 10. Henr. Steph. Lucub. in Dicæarch. cap. 3. In Theſ. Antiq. Græc. t. xi.

* In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the 12th of the month Scirophorion, correſponding with the 5th of July of the Julian proleptic year 362 before J. C.

[l] Xeneph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 643. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 10.

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 392.

occupied the moſt important ſtations. The Theban general, ſurpriſed without being diſcouraged, ordered ſeveral attacks. He had penetrated to the forum [n], and made himſelf maſter of one part of the city, when Ageſilaus, then near eighty years of age, liſtening only to the dictates of deſpair [o], ruſhed into the midſt of danger, and, ſeconded by the brave Archidamus his ſon, repulſed the enemy, and compelled them to retire.

On this occaſion, Iſadas performed an action that excited at once the admiration and the ſevere animadverſion of the magiſtrates. This Spartan, ſcarcely out of his childhood, beautiful as the god of love himſelf, and valiant as Achilles, armed only with a lance and ſword, ruſhed through the Lacedæmonian battalions, fell impetuouſly on the Thebans, and laid at his feet all who attempted to withſtand his fury. The ephori decreed him a crown in honour of the courage he had diſplayed, but impoſed on him a fine for having fought without either cuiraſs or buckler [p].

Epaminondas was not moleſted in his retreat; but a victory was become neceſſary, that the failure of his enterpriſe might be forgotten. He therefore marched into Arcadia, where the principal forces of Greece were then united [q], and the two armies ſoon came in ſight of each other. That of the Lacedæmonians and their allies conſiſted of more than twenty thouſand foot, and near two thouſand horſe; the army of the Theban league, of thirty thouſand infantry, and about three thouſand cavalry [r].

Never did Epaminondas diſplay greater military talents than on this occaſion. In his order of battle, he followed the ſame principles which had procured him the victory of Leuctra [s]. One of his wings, in the form of a column, fell

[n] Polyb. lib. 9. p. 547.
[o] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 647.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 393.
[s] Forlard. Traité de la Colon. cap. 10, dans le rec. vol. de la Trad. de Polybe. p. lxi.

upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which probably would never have been broken, had he not haſtened thither in perſon to animate his troops by his example, and to reinforce them by a choſen body of men. The enemy, diſmayed at his appearance [t], gave way, and took to flight; he purſued them with an ardour which he could no longer reſtrain, and found himſelf ſurrounded by a body of Spartans, who poured on him a ſhower of javelins. After long warding off death, and making a crowd of warriors bite the duſt, he fell by a javelin, the point of which remained broken in his breaſt. The honour of carrying off his body brought on a renewal of the battle, as warm and bloody as the former attack; but his companions redoubling their exertions, had at length the melancholy conſolation of conveying the hero to his tent.

On the other wing, the fate of the battle long hung in ſuſpenſe. By the prudent diſpoſitions of Epaminondas, the Athenians had it not in their power to ſecond the Lacedæmonians [u]. Their cavalry attacked that of the Thebans, was repulſed with loſs, again rallied, and cut in pieces a detachment poſted by the enemy upon the neighbouring heights. Their infantry was on the point of flying, when the Eleans haſtened to their aſſiſtance [x].

The wound of Epaminondas ſtayed the carnage, and ſuſpended the fury of the ſoldiers. Both armies, equally ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, remained in inaction [y]: the retreat was ſounded on both ſides, and a trophy was erected on the field of battle [z].

Epaminondas ſtill breathed. His friends, his officers, were diſſolved in tears around his bed; and the whole camp reſounded with the cries of grief and deſpair. The phyſician had declared that he would expire the inſtant the iron ſhould

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 395.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 646.
[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 394.
[y] Juſtin. lib. 6. cap. 7.
[z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396.

be extracted from his wound [a]. All his fears were left his ſhield ſhould have fallen into the hands of the enemy. It was ſhown him, and he kiſſed it as the inſtrument of his glory and his labours [b]. He ſeemed anxious concerning the fate of the battle. He was told that the Thebans were victorious. "It is well," replied he, "I have lived long enough [c]." He then ordered Daiphantus and Iollidas, generals whom he thought worthy to ſucceed him, to be ſent for. He was informed that they were dead. "Adviſe the Thebans then," ſaid he, "to conclude a peace [d]." He now ordered the point of the javelin to be drawn out; and one of his friends exclaiming, in the diſtraction of his grief: "You die, Epaminondas! had you but left any children!" "I leave," anſwered he expiring, "two immortal daughters; the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea [e]."

His death was preceded by that of Timagenes, the kind and affectionate friend who had brought me into Greece. He had ſuddenly diſappeared, a week before the battle. A letter, left by him on the table of his niece Epicharis, informed us that he was gone to join Epaminondas, with whom he had preconcerted meaſures during his reſidence at Thebes, but that it was his intention ſpeedily to return never to leave us more. If the gods, added he, ſhould otherwiſe ordain, remember all that Anacharſis has done for me, nor forget what you have promiſed to do for him.

My heart felt the ſevereſt pangs when I read this letter. I wiſhed inſtantly to follow him; it was my duty ſo to do; but Timagenes had but too well concerted his precautions to prevent me. Apollodorus, who at his requeſt had juſt obtained for me the privileges of a citizen of Athens, repreſented to me the impoſſibility of bearing arms againſt my

[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 2. cap. 30. t. ii. p. 135. Id. Epiſt. Famil. lib. 5. epiſt. 12. t. vii. p. 163. Juſtin. ibid. cap. 8.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396. Nep. in Epam. cap. 9.
[d] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 194.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396.

new country, without expoſing him and his family. This conſideration prevailed, and I did not follow my friend; I was not witneſs of his heroic actions; and I did not periſh with him!

His image is ever preſent to my mind. Thirty years have ſince elapſed, yet is it but a moment that I have loſt him. Twice have I attempted his eulogium, twice has it been obliterated by my tears. But had I even poſſeſſed the power to finiſh, I ſhould have had the reſolution to ſuppreſs it. The virtues of an obſcure man are intereſting only to his friends, nor can they even claim to be held forth as an example.

The troubles of Greece were eventually increaſed by the battle of Mantinea [f]; but its immediate effect was to terminate the war [g]. The Athenians, previous to their departure, took care to collect the bodies of their countrymen who had fallen in battle; and after they were conſumed on the funeral pile, their bones were carried to Athens, and a day was fixed for the ceremony of their laſt obſequies, at which one of the principal magiſtrates preſided [h].

This began by expoſing under a large tent the coffins of cypreſs wood which contained the bones of the deceaſed. Such as had loſt any relation, both men and women, came there from time to time to make libations, and acquit themſelves of the duties enjoined by religion and natural affection [i]. Three days after, the coffins, placed on as many cars as there are tribes, proceeded ſlowly through the city to the Ceramicus without the walls, where funeral games were exhibited. They were then depoſited in the earth, after their friends and relations had bathed them for the laſt time with their tears; and an orator, publicly appointed for the occaſion, riſing up, pronounced the funeral eulogium of theſe brave warriors [k]. Each tribe erected cippi or half columns over the tombs of

[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. 7. c. 647.
[g] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616.
[h] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 91.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 34.
[k] Lyſ. Orat. Funeb. p. 26 et. 27.

its ſoldiers, on which were inſcribed their names and thoſe of their fathers, their birth place, and name of the place near which they fell.

The road leading from the city to the academy is lined with theſe cippi [1]. Others are ſeen ſcattered in different places in the vicinity. Here lie thoſe who fell in the war of Ægina; there thoſe who were ſlain in Cyprus; farther on ſuch as periſhed in the Sicilian expedition. It is impoſſible to advance a ſtep without treading on the aſhes of a hero, or of a victim ſacrificed to his country. I ſaw the ſoldiers who were returned from Peloponneſus, and had attended at the ceremony, ſtraying among theſe funeral monuments, pointing out to each other the names of their anceſtors and fathers, and ſeeming to anticipate the honours which were one day to be paid to their own memories.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the preſent Government of Athens.

As I ſhall ſometimes make a tranſition from one ſubject to another without appriſing the reader, it is neceſſary to juſtify my method.

Athens was my uſual place of reſidence: though, frequently, in company with my friend Philotas, I made excurſions into the neighbouring or more diſtant countries, from whence we again returned to that city. At every interval of my ſtay, I reſumed my reſearches, and gave the preference to ſome particular object. The order of this work therefore is, as I have already ſaid, only that of a journal, in which, to the narrative of my travels, and the recital of remarkable events, I have added ſuch obſervations as I could collect on intereſting ſubjects. I had begun by an inquiry into the Athenian

[1] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 29.

government, of which, in my introduction, I contented myſelf with developing the general principles; I ſhall now enter into more extenſive details, and conſider it with the changes and abuſes that have been ſucceſſively introduced by a ſeries of unhappy circumſtances.

The cities and towns of Attica are divided into one hundred and ſeventy-four departments or diſtricts [m], which are again united into, and form ten tribes. All the citizens, thoſe even who reſide at Athens, belong to one of theſe diſtricts, are obliged to enrol their names in its regiſters, and by that act are conſequently claſſed in one or other of the tribes.

Towards the end of every year [n], the tribes ſeparately aſſemble to elect a ſenate, conſiſting of five hundred deputies, who muſt have attained at leaſt the age of thirty [o]. Each of theſe tribes elects fifty, to which the ſame number of ſubſidiaries are added, to ſupply the places that may fall vacant by the death or irregular conduct of any of the acting deputies [p]. Both deputies and ſubſtitutes are choſen by lot [q].

The new ſenators muſt undergo a rigorous ſcrutiny [r]; for irreproachable morals are required in men appointed to govern others. They afterward take an oath, by which they promiſe, among other things, to give none but ſalutary counſel to the republic, to judge according to the laws, to ſend no citizen to priſon who is able to find bail, unleſs accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, or of embezzling the public revenue [s].

The ſenate elected by the repreſentatives of the ten tribes, is naturally divided into ten claſſes, each of which by turns has the pre-eminence over the others. This pre-eminence is

[m] Strab. lib 9. p. 896. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 284. Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. i. diſſert. 5.

[n] Argum. in Androt. Orat. p. 697. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 186.

[o] Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 1. p. 717.

[p] Harpocr. in Ἐπιλαχ.

[q] Id. ibid. Andocid. de Myſt. part. 2. p. 13.

[r] Lyſ. adv. Philon. p. 487.

[s] Petit. Leg. Att. p. 192.

determined by lot [t], and its duration limited to the ſpace of thirty-ſix days for the four firſt claſſes, and thirty-five for the others [u].

The claſs which poſſeſſes this temporary ſuperiority over the reſt is named the claſs of the prytanes [x], and is maintained at the public expence [y], in a place called the Prytaneum. But as it is yet too numerous collectively to exerciſe its functions, it is ſubdivided into five decuriæ or committees, each compoſed of ten proedri or preſidents [z]; the ſeven ſeniors of whom, during ſeven ſucceſſive days, occupy alternately the chief place; the three others never attain this ſituation during the whole year.

He who fills it is conſidered as the chief of the ſenate, and his functions are ſo important, that it has been thought proper to intruſt him with his authority only for one day. He it is who generally propoſes the ſubjects of diſcuſſion; collects the ſuffrages of the ſenate; and, during the ſhort duration of his office, has the ſeal of the republic, the keys of the citadel, and thoſe of the treaſury of Minerva, in his cuſtody [a].

Theſe various arrangements, always determined by lot, are intended to maintain the moſt perfect degree of equality among the citizens, and as barriers for the greater ſafety of the ſtate. Not an Athenian but may become a member and chief of the higheſt body of the republic; not an individual but may, by merit or intrigues, have an opportunity to abuſe an authority confided to him, though but for a few moments.

The nine other claſſes, or chambers of the ſenate, have, in like manner, a preſident at their head, who is changed at

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[t] Argum. in Androt. Orat. p. 697. Suid. in Πρυτ.

[u] Suid. ib. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 189. Corſin. Faſt. Att. diſſ. 2. p. 103.

[x] Harpocr. et Suid. in Πρυτ.

[y] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 501. Poll lib. 8. cap. 15. § 155. Ammon. ap. Harpocr. in Θόλ.

[z] Argum. in Androt. ut ſuprà.

[a] Suid. in Ἔκτ. Argum. Orat. Demoſth. in Androt. p. 697.

each meeting, and is each time drawn for by lot, by the chief of the prytanes [b]. On certain occaſions, theſe nine preſidents carry the decrees of the ſenate to the general aſſembly; and the firſt in order of them collects the ſuffrages of the people [c]. On others, this is performed by the chief of the prytanes, or one of his aſſiſtants [d] *.

The ſenate is annually re-elected, and is expected, while its authority continues, to exclude thoſe of its members whoſe conduct has been reprehenſible [e], and to deliver up its accounts previous to its diſſolution [f]. If the people are ſatiſfied with its conduct, they decree it a crown; a reward which is withheld when it has neglected to build galleys [g]. The members who compoſe it receive a drachma [h] a-day for their attendance †. It meets every day, except on feſtivals, and days conſidered as unfortunate [i]. It is the duty of the prytanes to convene it, and to prepare the ſubjects of deliberation. As it repreſents the tribes, it is in its turn repreſented by the prytanes, who, conſtantly collected in one place, are always at hand, to watch over ſuch dangers as may threaten the republic, and to give timely notice to the ſenate.

During the thirty-five or thirty-ſix days that the claſs of prytanes are in office, the people aſſemble four times [k]; and theſe four aſſemblies, which fall on the 11th, the 20th, 30th, and 33d days of the prytany, are called ordinary aſſemblies.

On the firſt of theſe days, they confirm or remove the magiſtrates juſt entered into office [l]. The garriſons and fortreſſes that conſtitute the ſecurity of the ſtate are the next

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[b] Harpocr. in Προέδ. et in Ἐπιστάτ. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 191.

[c] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. i. p. 276. et 286.

[d] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 60. Schol. ibid. Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 14. Hocr. de Fac. t. i. p. 368; et alii.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[e] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 277.

[f] Id. in Cteſiph. p. 430 et 431.

[g] Demoſth. adv. Androt. p. 700. Arg. ejuſd. Orat.

[h] Heſych. in Βολ.

† Eighteen ſols (or nine pence).

[i] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 193.

[k] Ariſt. ap. Harpocr. in Κυρία. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 4. Potr. Archæolog. Græc. lib. 1. cap. 17. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 196.

[l] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 95.

objects of conſideration[m], as well as certain public informations, and the aſſembly concludes by publiſhing the confiſcations of property ordered by the courts of juſtice[n]. On the ſecond, every citizen who has previouſly depoſited on the altar an olive branch bound with a ſacred fillet, may freely diſcourſe on all ſubjects relative to the adminiſtration and government. The third is ſet apart to receive heralds and ambaſſadors who have firſt given an account of their miſſion[o], or preſented their credentials to the ſenate[p]. The fourth is appropriated to religious matters, ſuch as feſtivals, ſacrifices, &c.

The object of theſe aſſemblies being known, and their diſcuſſions frequently unintereſting, it became neceſſary, not long ſince, to drag the people thither by violence, or to force them by penalties, to give attendance[q]. But they are more aſſiduous ſince the government has adopted the meaſure of granting three oboli * as a reward for their appearance[r]; and as there is no puniſhment for abſence, it unavoidably happens that the poorer ſort attend in greater numbers than the rich; a circumſtance very conſonant to the ſpirit of democracies[s].

Beſides theſe aſſemblies, extraordinary ones are held when the ſtate is menaced with approaching danger[t]. Theſe are convoked by the prytanes[u], and more frequently by the commanders of the troops[x], in the name, and with the permiſſion of the ſenate. When circumſtances permit, the invitation is extended to all the inhabitants of Attica[y].

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[m] Ariſt. ap. Harpocr. ibid.
[n] Poll. ibid.
[o] Æſch. de Falſ. Leg. p. 397. et 402. Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 296 et 298.
[p] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 96.
[q] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 22. Schol. ibid.
* Nine ſols (or four-pence halfpenny).
[r] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 330. Id. in Eccleſ. v. 292. et 308. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 205.
[s] Xenoph. Memorab. p. 775. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 13. t. ii. p. 378.
[t] Æſch. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. §. 116.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 403 et 404.
[x] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 478, 484, et 500
[y] Heſych. in Κατασλ.

Women cannot be preſent at the public aſſembly, nor have men that right till they have paſſed their twentieth year. This privilege is forfeited by him who is ſtigmatized with infamy; and a ſtranger who ſhould uſurp it is puniſhable by death, inaſmuch as he is deemed to have uſurped the ſovereign power [z], or obtained the means of betraying the ſecrets of the ſtate [a].

The meeting of the aſſembly begins very early in the morning [b], and is held either in the theatre of Bacchus, in the public market, or in a ſpacious place near the citadel, named the Pnyx [c]. Six thouſand ſuffrages are requiſite to give the force of law to ſeveral of its decrees [d]. It is not, however, at all times practicable to obtain this number; and, during the whole courſe of the Peloponneſian war, it was found impoſſible to collect more than five thouſand citizens [e] in the general aſſembly.

The chiefs of the ſenate on important occaſions preſide at the aſſemblies [f], and the whole ſenate is preſent at them in a body. The military officers have a diſtinguiſhed place aſſigned them [g], and the city guard, compoſed of Scythians, attends to maintain order [h].

When every one is ſeated [i], and the place in which the aſſembly meets luſtrated by the blood of victims [k], a herald riſes up and repeats a formulary of vows, which are pronounced alſo in the ſenate as often as they proceed to deliberation [l]. With theſe prayers, addreſſed to Heaven for the proſperity of the ſtate, are intermingled dreadful imprecations againſt the orator who ſhall have received preſents to

[z] Eſprit. des Lois, lib. 2. chap. 2.
[a] Liban. declam. 28. t. i. p. 617.
[b] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 736.
[c] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. l. 2. cap. 4.
[d] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 875. Id. in Timocr. p. 780.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 72.
[f] Ariſtoph. Schol. in Acharn. v. 60.
[g] Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 408.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid.
[i] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 751 et 782. Id. in Eccleſ. v. 165.
[k] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 263. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 43. Schol. ad. verſ. 44.
[l] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 304.

deceive the people, the ſenate, or the tribunal of the Heliaſtæ [m]. The ſubject for deliberation is next propoſed to the aſſembly, which is generally contained in a preliminary decree of the ſenate, and is read with a loud voice [n]. The herald then proclaims: "Let every citizen, who can give uſeful counſel to his country, mount the roſtrum, beginning by thoſe who are more than fifty years of age." For it was formerly neceſſary to have paſſed that age, to be permitted to ſpeak firſt on any ſubject under deliberation; but this regulation is now neglected [o], as well as many others.

Although from this moment every man preſent is at perfect liberty to aſcend the roſtrum, yet we rarely ſee any other than the ſtate orators avail themſelves of this privilege. Theſe are ten citizens diſtinguiſhed by their abilities, and eſpecially employed to defend the intereſts of the country in the aſſemblies of the ſenate and the people [p].

When the queſtion is ſufficiently diſcuſſed, the proedri, or preſidents of the ſenate, call for a deciſion of the people on the decree that is propoſed to them. Sometimes they give their ſuffrages by ballot, but oftener by holding up of hands; which is a ſign of approbation. The plurality of ſuffrages once aſcertained, and the decree read a third time without oppoſition, the preſidents diſmiſs the aſſembly, which breaks up with the ſame noiſe and tumult as have prevailed through the whole courſe of the deliberations [q].

On certain occaſions, when the popular leaders have reaſon to dread the influence of powerful men, they have recourſe to a method occaſionally practiſed in other cities of Greece [r]. They propoſe voting by tribes [s], and the vote of each tribe

[m] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 741. Dicæarch. in Ariſtog. p. 107.
[n] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 299.
[o] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 264; in Cteſiph. p. 428.
[p] Ariſtot. ap. Scol. Ariſtoph. Veſp. v. 689. Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 428. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 850.
[q] Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 24. Plat de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 492.
[r] Æneæ Poliorc. Comment. cap. 11.
[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449.

is always in the power of the poorer ſort, who are more numerous than the rich.

By theſe various modes is it that the ſupreme authority, which reſides eſſentially in the people, manifeſts its pleaſure. It is the people who decide on peace and war [t], who receive ambaſſadors, who confirm or abrogate laws, who nominate to almoſt every office, impoſe taxes, grant the privileges of a citizen to foreigners, and decree rewards to thoſe who have rendered ſervice to their country [u].

The ſenate is the permanent council of the people. The members of this body are generally perſons of knowledge and ability. The ſcrutiny they have undergone previous to their entrance into office, proves at leaſt that their conduct has been thought irreproachable, and is a preſumption in favour of the rectitude of their intentions.

The people can enact nothing which has not firſt met with the approbation of the ſenate. It is to the ſenate, in the firſt inſtance, that all decrees * relative to the adminiſtration or government muſt be preſented by the chief of the company, or one of the preſidents [x]. They are then diſcuſſed by the public orators, and modified, accepted, or rejected, by a majority of votes, in a body of five hundred citizens, moſt of whom having filled the higheſt offices of the republic, unite information to experience.

Decrees, as they are paſſed by them, and previous to their being confirmed by the people, remain in force during the exiſtence of this ſenate [y], but the ratification of the people can alone give them a durable authority. *

Such was the inſtitution of Solon, whoſe intention it was that the people ſhould have it in their power to do nothing

[t] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 139 Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 296. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 404.

[u] Thucyd. Xenoph. Demoſth. &c. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 4.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[x] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 54; de Cor. p. 500; in Androt. p. 699. Liban. Argum. in cand. Orat. p. 696. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Harpocr. in Προεδρ.

[y] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 740. Ulpian. p. 766.

without the ſenate, and that their proceedings ſhould be ſo regulated, as to produce the greateſt poſſible advantages with the feweſt ſources of diſſenſion. But to effect and maintain this happy harmony, it would have been expedient to inveſt the ſenate with the means of awing the people.

But as this body changes every year, and its officers every day, it has neither time nor intereſt ſufficient to retain any portion of authority; and as, at the expiration of its annual functions, it has honours and favours to look up for from the people [z], it is reduced to conſider them in the light of its benefactors, and conſequently its maſters. There is in truth no real ſubject of diviſion between theſe two bodies; but the inconveniences reſulting from their jealouſy would be leſs dangerous than that union which now ſubſiſts between them. The decrees approved of by the ſenate are not only rejected in the aſſembly of the people, but we every day ſee ſimple individuals ſubſtitute others in their room, the offſpring of their private opinions, which are eagerly adopted by the multitude, without any previous knowledge of their tendency. To this licentiouſneſs, the preſidents oppoſe their right of terminating all diſputes. Sometimes they direct the people to deliberate only on the decree of the ſenate; ſometimes they endeavour to make the new propoſitions fall to the ground, by refuſing to put them to the vote, and by poſtponing the diſcuſſion to the next aſſembly. But the multitude almoſt always revolt againſt the exerciſe of a right that prevents them from deliberating, or thwarts their views, and by tumultuous clamour compel the leaders who oppoſe their will to reſign their places to other preſidents, who inſtantly gratify them in the enjoyment of a liberty of which they are ſo jealous [a].

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[z] Demoſth. in Androt. p. 700. Æſch. de Falſ. Leg. p. 408.

[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449.

Simple individuals now poſſeſs an influence in the public deliberations which ſhould appertain only to the ſenate [b]. Some of theſe are factious perſons of the loweſt extraction, who hurry away the multitude by their effrontery; others, wealthy citizens, who corrupt them by a falſe liberality. But thoſe who have the moſt weight, are men of eloquence, who, laying aſide every other occupation, devote their whole time to the adminiſtration of the ſtate.

Theſe generally make their firſt eſſays in the courts of juſtice; and when they have there diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oratory, they then, under pretext of ſerving their country, but more frequently to promote their ambitious views, enter into a nobler track, and undertake the arduous taſk of inſtructing the ſenate, and guiding the people. Their profeſſion, to which they dedicate themſelves at an early period of life [c], requires, with the ſacrifice of their liberty, profound knowledge and exalted genius. For it is not ſufficient for an orator to be minutely acquainted with the hiſtory, the laws, the neceſſities, and forces of the republic, and the relative ſituation of the neighbouring and remote powers [d]; to follow with a ſtedfaſt eye thoſe rapid or more tardy efforts that all ſtates are perpetually exerting againſt each other, and thoſe almoſt imperceptible motions which are internally working their deſtruction; to avoid alarming the jealouſy of the feeble and allied nations, and to diſconcert the meaſures of the powerful and hoſtile; to diſcriminate, in fine, the real intereſts of the country amidſt a multitude of combinations and connections: he muſt alſo be able to enforce on the public mind thoſe great truths, with the importance of which he is himſelf ſenſibly impreſſed; he muſt learn to be moved neither by the menaces nor the applauſes of the people; to brave the hatred of the rich, by ſubjecting them to heavy impoſts,

b Demoſth. Olynth. 3. p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 26. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 369.

c Æſchin. Epiſt. 12. p. 213.

d Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. d. 520; ibid. cap. 8.

that of the multitude, by forcing them from their pleaſure or repoſe, and that of the other orators, by detecting and diſcovering their intrigues; he muſt be prepared to be reſponſible alike for events which he had it not in his power to prevent, and for thoſe it was impoſſible to foreſee [e]; to be the victim, by his diſgrace, of projects that have proved abortive, and ſometimes even of thoſe which have been juſtified by ſucceſs; to appear full of confidence in the hour of imminent danger and univerſal terror, and by prompt expedients to re-animate declining hope; to fly to the neighbouring ſtates, and with them form powerful leagues; to enkindle an ardent thirſt for war, by the enthuſiaſm of liberty; and, after performing the duties of the ſtateſman, the orator, and ambaſſador, to repair to the field of battle, and ſeal with his blood the advice he has given to the people from the roſtrum.

Such is the lot of thoſe who are at the head of the government. The laws, foreſeeing the empire that men at once ſo uſeful and ſo dangerous may aſſume over the minds of the people, have ordained that their abilities ſhould not be called into exertion till ample teſtimony can be borne to their moral conduct. They exclude from the roſtrum [f] the man who ſhall be proved to have ſtruck his parents, or who has denied them the means of ſubſiſtence: for how can he feel the love of his country, whoſe heart is ſhut to the ſentiments of nature? They exclude the citizen who has diſſipated the inheritance of his father, ſince he would laviſh the treaſures of the ſtate with ſtill greater unconcern; the man alſo who has no legitimate offspring [g], or poſſeſſes no property in Attica; for, without theſe ties, his attachment to the republic can be at beſt but vague and equivocal, ſince it is not ſtrengthened by private intereſt: whoever likewiſe has refuſed to

[e] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 513.
[f] Æſchin. adv. Timarch. p. 264.
[g] Din. adv. Demoſth. in Oper. Demoſth. p. 181.

take arms at the command of the general [h], abandoned his ſhield in battle, or addicted himſelf to ſhameful pleaſures, is not permitted to ſpeak in the aſſembly, becauſe cowardice and corruption, almoſt inſeparable companions, would expoſe his mind to every ſpecies of treachery; beſides that no man, who is unable either to defend his country by his valour, or edify it by his example, can be worthy to inſtruct it by his counſel.

The orator then muſt aſcend the roſtrum with the conſciouſneſs and authority of an irreproachable private life. It is to be obſerved likewiſe, that formerly thoſe who ſpoke in public, accompanied their harangues only with a noble, ſedate, and artleſs action, ſimple as the virtues which they practiſed, and the truths it was their object to declare; nor is it yet forgotten that Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, and Pericles, almoſt motionleſs on the tribunal, and with their hands concealed in their mantles [i], derived as much weight from the gravity of their demeanour as from the powers of their eloquence.

Far from imitating theſe examples, the modern orators in general exhibit in their features, their exclamations, their geſtures, and their garments [k], nothing but an extravagant agitation, and a diſguſting indecency.

This, however, is but a trifling ſymptom of the infamy of their general conduct. Some ſell their talents and their honour to powers at enmity with Athens; others have wealthy citizens at their command, who, by a tranſient ſervility, hope to attain the higheſt offices; while all, waging with each other a perpetual war of reputation and of intereſt, aſpire to the glory and emolument of governing the moſt enlightened people of Greece and of the world.

Hence thoſe cabals and diviſions which are inceſſantly fermenting in the heart of the republic, and breaking out with

h Æſchin. adv. Timarch. p. 264.
i Id. ibid.
k Plut. in Nic. t. i, p. 528.

violence in the tumultuous aſſemblies: for the people, ſo ſervile in their obedience, ſo terrible when they obtain the ſway, carry thither, with their natural licentiouſneſs of manners, that abhorrence of reſtraint which they deem a precious portion of their ſovereignty. There all their paſſions are extreme, and their exceſſes paſſed over with impunity. Thither the orators repair, like ſo many chiefs of parties, now ſeconded by military officers whoſe protection they have ſecured, and now attended by factious ſubalterns whoſe fury they can moderate at pleaſure. No ſooner do they make their appearance in the liſts, than they commence the attack by inſults [l] which animate the multitude, or by ſtrokes of pleaſantry which tranſport them beyond themſelves. Preſently the clamours, the applauſes, the burſts of laughter [m], that ariſe from all ſides, ſtifle the voice of the ſenators who preſide at the aſſembly, of the guards ſtationed on every ſide to maintain order [n], nay, even of the orator [o], who ſees his decree fall to the ground by the ſame paltry artifices that ſo often overthrow a dramatic piece at the theatre of Bacchus.

In vain has a remedy been for ſome time paſt attempted, by ordering one of the ten tribes, drawn by lot at each aſſembly, to take their ſtations around the roſtrum, to prevent confuſion, and fly to the ſuccour of the violated laws [p]: they are themſelves hurried along by the torrent which they are endeavouring to ſtem; and the futility of their aſſiſtance ſerves only to evince the magnitude of an evil, perpetuated not only by the nature of the government, but ſtill more by the character of the Athenians.

In fact, that people, highly ſuſceptible as they are of lively and tranſient ſenſations, ſtand diſtinguiſhed beyond all other

[l] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. p. 142. Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 428.
[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 492. Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 297 et 310.
[n] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ib.
[o] Ariſtoph. ibid. v. 37. Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 300. et 310.
[p] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 265; in Cteſiph. p. 428.

nations for uniting the moſt diſcordant qualities, and ſuch as may moſt eaſily be abuſed to miſlead them.

Hiſtory repreſents them to us, ſometimes as an old dotard who may be deceived with impunity [q], or as an infant who requires continual amuſement; and ſometimes as diſplaying the diſcernment and ſentiments of elevated minds; as paſſionately fond of pleaſure and of liberty, of indolence and of glory; as intoxicated with flattery, yet receiving merited reproach with applauſe [r]; as poſſeſſing ſufficient penetration to apprehend at a word the plans propoſed to them [s], but too impatient to liſten to the particulars, or to foreſee their conſequences; as making their magiſtrates tremble before them, and at the very moment pardoning their moſt bitter enemies; as paſſing, with the rapidity of lightning, from rage to compaſſion, from deſpondence to inſolence, from injuſtice to repentance; as fickle beyond conception; and ſo frivolous [t], that in the moſt ſerious, nay the moſt deſperate ſituation of affairs, a ſingle word ſpoken at random, a happy ſally of pleaſantry, the ſmalleſt object, the moſt trivial incident, provided it be unexpected, ſuffices to diſpel their fears, or to divert them from their moſt important intereſts.

Thus was it that the whole aſſembly was once ſeen to riſe and run after a little bird that Alcibiades, when young, and ſpeaking for the firſt time in public, had inadvertently ſuffered to eſcape from his boſom [u].

Thus alſo was it, that about the ſame time the orator Cleon, who was become the idol of the Athenians, without poſſeſſing any portion of their eſteem, ſported with the popular favour with impunity. The people were aſſembled, and waiting for him with impatience, when he at length appeared to requeſt them to defer the deliberation to another day, becauſe, expecting ſome foreigners of his acquaintance to dine

[q] Ariſtoph. Equit. v. 710, 749, &c.
[r] Plut. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 38.
[t] Plin. lib. 35, cap. 10. t. ii. p. 693. Corn. Nep. in Timoth. cap. 3.
[u] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 799.

with him, he had not leiſure to employ himſelf about ſtate affairs. The aſſembly immediately roſe, gave him loud plaudits, and the influence of the orator was but increaſed by this extraordinary behaviour [x].

I ſaw them myſelf one day extremely uneaſy at ſome hoſtilities that had lately been committed by Philip, and that threatened an immediate rupture. At the moment when their minds were in the greateſt agitation, a very little and deformed man ſtood up to ſpeak. This was Leon, ambaſſador from Byzantium, who, though his perſonal appearance was of the moſt unfavourable kind, poſſeſſed much of that wit and preſence of mind ſo highly pleaſing to the Athenians. At ſight of him, they burſt into ſuch violent fits of laughter, that Leon could ſcarcely obtain a moment's ſilence. At length he ſaid: "What would you ſay then did you but ſee my wife? She *hardly* reaches to my knees. Yet, little as we are, when we diſagree, the city of Byzantium is not large enough to hold us." This pleaſantry was ſo ſucceſsful, that the Athenians immediately granted the ſuccours he came to ſolicit [y].

In a word, they have been known, after expreſſing the utmoſt indignation at ſome intercepted letters of Philip, which they ordered to be read before them, to pay, notwithſtanding, ſo great a reſpect to the letters written by that prince to his queen, as to order them to be ſent to her unopened [z].

As nothing is more eaſy than to underſtand and to inflame the paſſions and taſtes of ſuch a people, it is alſo extremely eaſy to acquire their confidence, nor is it leſs ſo to loſe it; but, whilſt in favour, there is nothing which the popular leader may not ſay or undertake, and he may perſuade them to adopt good or evil meaſures with an equal degree of ardour. When guided by firm and virtuous men, they beſtowed the

[x] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 527. Id. Præcept. Ger. Reip. ibid.

[y] Plut. Præcept. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 804.

[z] Id. ibid. p. 799.

offices of the magiſtracy, embaſſies, and the command of armies, only on great abilities united with virtue. In our days they have frequently made a choice at which they ſhould have bluſhed [a]; but it is the fault of the flatterers who direct them, flatterers as dangerous as thoſe of tyrants [b], and who, like them, bluſh only when diſgraced.

The ſenate being dependent on the people, and the people abandoning themſelves without reſerve [c] to their favourite orators, by whom they are miſled, if any thing can preſerve the democracy it muſt be private enmities [d]; it muſt be the facility of proſecuting an orator who makes an improper uſe of his influence. In this caſe he is accuſed of tranſgreſſing the laws; and as the charge may be relative either to his perſon, or the nature of the decree he has propoſed [e], hence ariſe two kinds of accuſation to which he is perpetually liable.

The object of the firſt is to ſtigmatiſe him in the eyes of his fellow citizens. If he has received preſents to betray his country, if his private conduct be found ſullied with any mark of infamy, and eſpecially with thoſe crimes I have already mentioned, and from which his public functions require him to be exempt, every individual is then permitted to commence a proſecution againſt him. This proſecution, which aſſumes different names according to the nature of the offence [f], is commenced before a magiſtrate, who takes cogniſance, in the firſt inſtance, of the delinquency in queſtion. When the fault is trivial, he ſentences him to a trifling penalty [g]; when more important, he refers the caſe to a ſuperior tribunal; and if the crime be proved, the accuſed, among other puniſhments, undergoes that of never more aſcending the roſtrum.

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[a] Eupol. ap. Stob. p. 239.
[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 369.
[c] Demoſth. Olynth. 3. p. 39. Id. de Ord. Rep. p. 126. Id. in Lept. p. 541.
[d] Æſchin. in Tim. p. 260. Melanth. ap. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 20.
[e] Iſæus ap. Harpocr. in ἰητορ. γραφ.
[f] Harpocr. et Suid. in ἰητορ. γραφ.
[g] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 885.

Nor have orators, whoſe circumſpect conduct ſhelters them from this firſt ſpecies of accuſation, leſs to apprehend on that account from the ſecond, which is termed an accuſation on account of illegality [h].

Amidſt that multitude of decrees we ſee from time to time enacted with the ſanction of the ſenate and the people, ſome there are in manifeſt contradiction to the welfare of the ſtate, and which it is important not to ſuffer to ſubſiſt. But as they were the acts of the legiſlative power, it ſhould ſeem that no authority, no tribunal, is competent to annul them. The people themſelves ſhould not attempt it, leſt the orators, who have already taken them by ſurpriſe [i], ſhould again miſlead them. What reſource then ſhall there be for the republic? A law, ſingular indeed at firſt ſight, but admirable in its nature, and ſo eſſential as to render it impoſſible either to ſuppreſs or to neglect it, without deſtroying the democracy [k]; I mean, the law that authoriſes the very loweſt citizen to appeal from a judgment of the whole people, whenever he is able to demonſtrate that the new decree is contrary to the laws already eſtabliſhed.

In theſe circumſtances, it is the inviſible ſovereign, it is the laws which loudly proteſt againſt the national judgment that has violated them: it is in the name of the laws that the accuſation is brought forward; it is before the tribunal, which is the chief depoſitary and avenger of the laws, that it is proſecuted; and the judges, by ſetting aſide the decree, only pronounce that the authority of the people has happened unintentionally to claſh with that of the laws; or rather they maintain the ancient and permanent deciſions of the people againſt their preſent and tranſient inclinations.

This remonſtrance of the laws having ſuſpended the power which the people had given to their decree, and it being im-

[h] Hume, Political Diſcourſes, diſc. 9. v. 2. p. 2.

[i] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 448. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 541.

[k] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 797. Æſch. in Cteſ. p. 428 et 459.

practicable to proceed judicially againſt the people, an action can only be brought againſt the orator who propoſed the obnoxious decree, and accordingly it is againſt him that the accuſation for illegality is brought. And it is laid down as a principle, that ſince he has voluntarily interfered in the adminiſtration, he has expoſed himſelf to the alternative of honour when he ſucceeds, and of puniſhment when his projects prove abortive [l].

The cauſe is firſt diſcuſſed either before the firſt or before the laſt ſix of the archons [m]. The preliminary proceedings gone through, it is removed to the tribunal of the heliaſtæ, generally compoſed of five hundred, and ſometimes of a thouſand, of fifteen hundred, or two thouſand judges. It lies with the ſame magiſtrates to determine, according to the nature of the offence, the number they would chooſe to have for judges, which they have ſometimes increaſed to ſix thouſand [n].

The decree may be attacked when it has only paſſed the ſenate, or the accuſer may wait till it is confirmed by the people. But, whichever of theſe meaſures it may be thought proper to adopt, the action muſt be brought within the year, to ſubject the orator to puniſhment. That period once expired, he is no longer reſponſible for his decree.

After the proſecutor has produced his arguments for annulling the decree, and the accuſed has finiſhed his defence, the queſtion is put to the vote [o]. If the former does not obtain the fifth part of the ſuffrages, he is obliged to pay five hundred drachmas to the public treaſury [p]*, and there is an end to the affair. If the deciſion be unfavourable to the latter, he may ſtill petition for a mitigation of the penalty; but he ſeldom eſcapes baniſhment, interdiction, or heavy pecuniary fines. Here, as in ſome other cauſes of a different na-

[l] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 309.
[m] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 481. Id. in Leptin. p. 555.
[n] Andoc. de Myſt. p. 3.
[o] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 460.
[p] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 489 et 490. Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 397.
* 450 livres (or 18l. 15s. Sterling).

ture, the intervals for the pleadings and the judgment are divided into three ſittings; the one for the perſon who proſecutes, the other for the accuſed to make his defence, and the third, when it takes place, to decide on the puniſhment [q].

Not an orator but ſhudders at this accuſation, not a manœuvre but he puts in practice to ward off its conſequences. Prayers, tears, negligence of dreſs, the protection of military officers [r], all the artifices of eloquence, all the ſtratagems of policy, are made uſe of by the accuſed and his friends.

Theſe means are often but too ſucceſsful; and we have ſeen the orator Ariſtophon boaſt of having been the object of no leſs than ſeventy-five accuſations of this kind, and of having always eſcaped triumphant [s]. Nevertheleſs, as every orator procures ſeveral decrees to be paſſed during his adminiſtration; as it is eſſential for him to multiply them in order to maintain his authority; as he is ſurrounded by enemies rendered quickſighted by jealouſy; as it is eaſy, by remote deductions, or forced interpretations, to diſcover ſome contrariety between his opinions, his conduct, and the numerous laws that are in force, it is almoſt impoſſible but that he muſt, ſooner or later, fall a victim to the accuſations from which he is inceſſantly in danger.

I have ſaid that the laws of Athens are numerous. Beſides thoſe of Draco which ſtill in part ſubſiſt [t], beſides thoſe of Solon which form the baſis of the civil code, many others have been introduced, either originating in the circumſtances of the times, or which have been adopted through the influence of orators [u].

In every government it is a work of difficulty to ſuppreſs an ancient law, and to ſupply its place by a new one; and this difficulty muſt be ſtill greater with a people who, at once

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[q] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 397.
[r] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 428.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 459.
[t] Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1062. Andoc. de Myſt. part 2. p. 11.
[u] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554.

ſubjects and ſovereigns, are always tempted to alleviate or ſhake off the yoke they have impoſed upon themſelves. Solon had ſo bound up the hands of the legiſlative power, as to diſable it from touching the foundations of his legiſlation, except with the moſt extreme precaution.

An individual who propoſes to abrogate an ancient law, muſt at the ſame time be ready to ſubſtitute another [x]. Both of theſe he preſents to the ſenate [y], which, after maturely weighing them, either diſapproves the intended change, or commands the proper officers to lay an account of it before the people in the general aſſembly, whoſe buſineſs it is, among other things, to examine and reviſe the laws in force [z]. This is the aſſembly held on the 11th day of the firſt month of the year [a]. If it appears expedient that the law ſhould actually be repealed, the prytanes refer the matter to the next aſſembly, which is uſually held nineteen days after; and five orators are previouſly nominated, who are appointed to undertake the defence of the law propoſed to be abrogated. In the interval, this law, as well as that to be offered in its place, is daily affixed to certain ſtatues, and expoſed to every eye [b], ſo that each citizen may compare at his leiſure the advantages and inconveniences of them both. Theſe become the topic of converſation in all companies; and thus the public opinion is gradually formed, and openly manifeſts itſelf at the appointed aſſembly. Still, however, nothing can be finally decided. Commiſſioners are named, ſometimes to the number of a thouſand and one, to whom they give the name of legiſlators, and who muſt all have ſat among the heliaſtæ [c]. Theſe form a tribunal, before which appear both the perſon who attacks and thoſe who defend the ancient law. The commiſſioners have the power to abrogate it, without again returning to the people. They next examine whether the

[x] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554; et in Timocr. p. 778.
[y] Id. in Timocr. p. 781.
[z] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 776.
[a] Ulpian. in Tim. p. 811.
[b] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 776.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 766 et 777. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 101.

new law be adapted to circumſtances, equally beneficial to all the citizens, and conformable to the other laws; theſe preliminaries ſettled, they either confirm it themſelves, or preſent it to the people, who affix to it the ſeal of authority by their ſuffrages. The orator who has occaſioned this alteration is liable to a proſecution, not for having procured the repeal of an obſolete or uſeleſs law, but for introducing another which may eventually prove detrimental.

All new laws muſt be propounded and diſcuſſed in the ſame manner. Yet, notwithſtanding the formalities I have mentioned, notwithſtanding the obligation impoſed on certain magiſtrates to make every year an exact reviſal of the laws, ſo great a number of contradictory and obſcure ones have inſenſibly crept into the code, that the Athenians have lately been under the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a ſpecial commiſſion to make a proper ſelection; but their labour has hitherto been fruitleſs [d].

It is a great advantage, that the nature of the democracy has rendered delays and inquiries neceſſary, in matters of legiſlation; but it is often a great misfortune that they are no leſs unavoidable on occaſions that call for celerity and diſpatch. In a monarchy, a ſingle moment ſuffices to promulgate and carry into execution the will of the ſovereign [e]. Here the ſenate muſt be firſt conſulted; the aſſembly of the people be convoked; and they muſt have time to be informed, to deliberate, to decide. The execution of their determinations is ſubject to ſtill more impediments. All theſe obſtacles ſo greatly retard the progreſs of affairs, that the people are ſometimes obliged to refer their deciſion to the ſenate [f]; but it is with regret they ſubmit to make this ſacrifice, dreading the revival of a faction compoſed of the partiſans of the ariſtocracy [g], a faction which formerly ſtripped

[d] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 433. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 554.
[e] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 321.
[f] Id, ibid. p. 317.
[g] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 387 et 427. Theophr. Charact. cap. 26. Caſaub. ibid. Corn. Nep. in Phoc. cap. 3.

them of their authority. At preſent this party is in a ſtate of depreſſion; but that circumſtance would render them only the more ardent in their exertions to deſtroy a power by which they are kept down and humbled. The people hate them the more, as they make no diſtinction between their power and the tyranny of a ſingle perſon.

Hitherto we have conſidered the ſenate and the people as ſolely occupied with the great object of government: they ſhould be regarded likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, as two courts of juſtice, in which certain offences are proſecuted [h]; and what will appear extraordinary, is, that, excepting ſome trifling pecuniary fines which the ſenate are empowered to impoſe [i], other cauſes, after undergoing the judgment of the ſenate, of the people, or of both, one after the other, are, or are liable to be, removed to a tribunal that determines in the laſt reſort [k]. I have known a citizen, accuſed of embezzling the public money, firſt condemned by the ſenate, then by the ſuffrages of the people, which were in ſuſpenſe for a whole day, and finally by two tribunals, forming together the number of a thouſand and one judges [l].

It has been thought, with reaſon, that the executive power, diſtinguiſhed from the legiſlative, ſhould never be converted into a vile inſtrument of the latter. But I am compelled to own, that in times of trouble and corruption, ſo wiſe a law has more than once been violated, and that orators have occaſionally induced the people whom they governed, to keep back certain cauſes, in order to prevent ſome individuals, whom they had devoted to deſtruction, from obtaining relief in the ordinary courts of juſtice [m] *.

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h Andoc. de Myſt. part. 1. p. 2.

i Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1058.

k Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 588. Demoſth. ibid. Liban. Argum. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 601.

l Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 774.

m Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 369.

* In ſupport of this fact, I have cited Ariſtotle, who, from motives of prudence, does not name the republic of Athens; but it is evident that he alludes to it in this paſſage.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Magiſtrates of Athens.

In that violent conflict between paſſions and duties, which muſt infallibly ariſe wherever there are men, and ſtill more where theſe men are free, and think themſelves independent, it is neceſſary that an authority continually armed to repreſs and puniſh licentiouſneſs ſhould with unceaſing vigilance watch over and prevent its progreſs; and as a ſingle authority cannot always immediately act, it alſo becomes neceſſary, by the inſtitution of ſeveral magiſtrates, to render this power at once formidable and omnipreſent.

The people aſſemble on the four laſt days of the year, to nominate to the different offices of the magiſtracy [n]; and though, by the law of Ariſtides [o], they may confer theſe offices on the loweſt of the Athenians, they very rarely grant thoſe which may affect the ſafety of the ſtate to any but the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens [p]. Their will is declared either by the way of ſuffrage, or by lot [q].

The places then diſpoſed of are very numerous. The perſons who are appointed to them muſt undergo an examination before the tribunal of the heliaſtæ [r]; and, as if this probation were inſufficient, the people are aſked, at the firſt monthly aſſembly, or prytany, whether they have any complaints to allege againſt their magiſtrates [s]. On the ſlighteſt accuſation, the chiefs of the aſſembly proceed to put the matter to the vote; and if the queſtion be decided againſt the accuſed magiſtrate, he is removed from office, and brought

[n] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 429. Suid. in Ἀρχαί. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Androt. p. 697.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 37. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 332.

[p] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 691. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.

[q] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 834. Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 432. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 1. Potter. Archæolog. lib. 1. cap. 11.

[r] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 429. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 44. Harpocr. et Heſych. in Δοκιμ.

[s] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 87.

before a court of juſtice, the determination of which is final [t].

The firſt and moſt important of theſe magiſtracies is that of the archons, compoſed of nine of the principal citizens, inveſted not only with the ſuperintendance of the police, but empowered to receive, in the firſt inſtance, all public informations, and the complaints of oppreſſed citizens.

Their nomination muſt be preceded, or immediately followed, by two examinations, one before the ſenate, the other before the tribunal of the heliaſtæ [u]. Among other conditions [x], it is requiſite that they ſhould be the children and grandchildren of citizens; that they always ſhould have paid a proper veneration to their parents, and have borne arms in the ſervice of the country. They next ſwear to maintain the laws, and to accept no preſents [y]. They take this oath on the originals of the laws themſelves, which are preſerved with a moſt religious veneration. Another motive ſtill more diſpoſes them inviolably to obſerve what they have ſworn. On going out of office, they have hopes, after another examination, to be admitted into the ſenate of the Areopagus [z], the higheſt object of ambition to a virtuous mind.

Their perſons, as well as thoſe of all the magiſtrates, are ſacred. Whoever ſhould inſult them by any act of violence, or improper language, when they have the crown of myrtle [a], the ſymbol of their authority, on their heads, would be excluded from moſt of the privileges of a citizen, or ſentenced to pay a fine; but they muſt merit likewiſe by their conduct the reſpect annexed to their office.

The three firſt archons have each a particular tribunal, where they ſit, accompanied by two aſſeſſors choſen by them-

[t] Harpocr. et Suid. in Καλαχυε.
[u] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 432. Demoſt. in Leptin. p. 554. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 86. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 237.
[x] Poll. ibid. § 85 et 86.
[y] Id. ibid. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 92. ib.
[z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88. Id. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 118.
[a] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 86. Heſych. in Μυρρίνη. Meurſ. Lect. Att. lib. 6. cap. 6.

ſelves [b]. The laſt ſix, called theſmothetæ, form only one and the ſame juriſdiction. Theſe different tribunals take cognizance of different kinds of cauſes [c].

The archons are empowered to draw by lot the judges of the ſuperior courts [d]. They have functions and prerogatives common to them all; and others that are peculiar to a ſingle archon. The firſt archon, for example, called the eponymus, from his name appearing at the head of the acts and decrees paſſed during his year of office, has more eſpecially under his care widows and minors [e]; the ſecond, or king-archon, is to exclude from the myſteries and religious ceremonies all who have been guilty of homicide [f]; and the third, or polemarch, exerciſes a kind of juriſdiction over foreigners ſettled at Athens [g]. All three preſide ſeparately at feſtivals and ſolemn games. The laſt ſix regulate the days for the ſitting of the ſuperior courts [h]; go their rounds during the night to maintain order and tranquillity in the city [i], and preſide at the elections of ſeveral ſubordinate magiſtrates [k].

After the election of the archons ſucceeds that of the ſtrategi or generals of armies, of the hipparchi or generals of the cavalry [l], of the officers employed in the collection and cuſtody of the public revenue [m], of the perſons who are to take care that the city is ſupplied with proviſions, of thoſe who ſuperintend the highways, and many others, whoſe functions are leſs important.

Sometimes the tribes, aſſembled in virtue of a decree of the people, chooſe inſpectors and treaſurers, to repair ſuch public works as are falling into decay [n].

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[b] Æſchin. adv. Tim. p. 284. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 872 et 874. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 92.

[c] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 956; in Pantæn. p. 992.

[d] Poll. ibid. § 87.

[e] Demoſth. in Macart. p. 1040. Id. in Lacrit. et in Pantæn. ibid.

[f] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 90.

[g] Demoſth. in Zenoth. p. 932. Pollux, ibid.

[h] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 87.

[i] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 650.

[k] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 429.

[l] Id. ibid.

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 8. t. i. p. 422. Poll. ib. lib. 8. § 97. Plut. in Lyc. t. ii p. 841.

[n] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 432.

The magiſtrates of almoſt all theſe departments are reſpectively ten in number; and as it is the nature of the government uniformly to tend towards equality, one of the number is choſen from each tribe.

One of the moſt uſeful eſtabliſhments of this kind is a chamber of accounts, which is annually re-choſen in the general aſſembly of the people, and conſiſts of ten officers [o]. In this chamber the archons, the members of the ſenate, the commanders of the galleys, the ambaſſadors [p], the Areopagites, nay even the miniſters of the altars, in a word, all perſons who have executed any commiſſion under the government, muſt appear, ſome on going out of office, others at ſtated periods; the former to account for the ſums they have received, the latter to juſtify their conduct, and others again merely to prove that they are liable to no cenſure.

Such as refuſe to appear are neither allowed to make a will, to leave the country [q], to fill any office of magiſtracy a ſecond time [r], nor to receive from the public the civic crown decreed to thoſe who have ſerved the ſtate faithfully [s]; they may even be impeached before the ſenate, or other tribunals, which may inflict on them ſtill more diſgraceful marks of infamy [t]. As ſoon as they are out of office, they are liable to a proſecution at the ſuit of any private citizen [u]. If they are charged with peculation, the chamber of accounts takes cognizance of the accuſation; if they are accuſed of any other crimes, the cauſe is inſtantly removed to the ordinary tribunals [x].

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[o] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. 430. Harpocr. et Etymol. in Λογισ.
[p] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 45.
[q] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 430.
[r] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 796.
[s] Æſchin. ibid. p. 429, &c.
[t] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 617.
[u] Æſchin. ibid. p. 431. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 663.
[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 45.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Athenian Courts of Juſtice.

THE right of protecting innocence is not acquired at Athens either by birth or riches. It is the privilege of every citizen [y]. As all may be preſent at the aſſembly of the nation, and decide on the intereſts of the ſtate, all are likewiſe entitled to give their ſuffrages in the courts of juſtice, and to regulate the intereſts of individuals. The office of judge, therefore, is neither an employment nor a function of magiſtracy; it is a temporary commiſſion, reſpectable for its object, but degraded by the motives that determine the greater part of the Athenians to accept it. The temptation of gain renders them aſſiduous at the tribunals, as well as at the general aſſembly. Three oboli * are diſtributed to each at every ſitting [z], which trifling recompence forms an annual expenditure for the ſtate of about one hundred and fifty talents †; for the number of judges is prodigious, and amounts to about ſix thouſand [a].

An Athenian who is more than thirty years of age, who has led an irreproachable life, and who owes nothing to the public treaſure, poſſeſſes the qualification requiſite to diſcharge the judicial functions [b]. The court in which he is to ſit is annually determined by lot [c].

In this manner are the tribunals filled; and of theſe, ten principal ones are enumerated, four for homicide, and ſix for

[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

* About nine ſols (or fourpence halfpenny).

[z] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 329. Id. in Ran. v. 140. Id. in Equit. v. 51 et 255. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 8 cap. 5. § 2.

† 810,000 livres 33,750l.) The following is the calculation of the Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes (in Veſp. v. 661.) Two months were dedicated to feſtivals. The tribunals then were open only during 10 months, or 300 days. It coſt each day 18,000 oboli, that is to ſay, 3000 drachmas, or half a talent, and conſequently 15 talents monthly, or 150 per annum. Samuel Petit has controverted this calculation (page 325).

[a] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 660. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 324.

[b] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 122. Pet. ibid. p. 306.

[c] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 832. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 277.

other cauſes, as well criminal as civil. Among the former, one takes cognizance of involuntary homicide; a ſecond, of homicide committed in ſelf-defence; a third, of murder, the perpetrator of which, formerly baniſhed his country for this crime, ſhall not have obtained a revocation of the decree previous to his return; a fourth, of homicide occaſioned by the fall of a ſtone, a tree, and other ſuch accidents [d]. We ſhall ſee, in the ſucceeding chapter, that the Areopagus took cognizance of premeditated murder.

So many juriſdictions for the ſame crime by no means prove that it is at this time more common in Athens than in other countries, but only that they were inſtituted in ages which knew no other right than force; and in truth they are all of the heroic ages. The origin of the other tribunals is unknown; but they muſt have been formed gradually, in proportion as ſocieties becoming more perfectly civilized, artifice has taken place of violence.

Theſe ten ſovereign courts, compoſed in general of five hundred judges [e], and ſome of a ſtill greater number, poſſeſs no inherent activity, but are ſet in motion by the nine archons. Each of theſe magiſtrates carries thither the cauſes that have fallen within his department, and preſides in this court whilſt they are depending [f].

It being improper for theſe aſſemblies to meet at the ſame time with thoſe of the people, ſince they are both compoſed nearly of the ſame perſons [g], it is the duty of the archons to appoint the time for the meeting of the former; it is their buſineſs likewiſe to draw by lot the judges who are to fill theſe different tribunals.

The moſt celebrated is that of the heliaſtæ [h], before which all cauſes of conſequence either to the ſtate or individuals are

[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 122.
[e] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 123.
[f] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 641. Harpocr. in Ἡγεμ δικασ.
[g] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 786.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 69. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἡλι.

brought. We have just said, that it consists in general of five hundred judges; and that, on certain occasions, the magistrates order other tribunals to unite themselves with that of the heliastæ, insomuch that the number sometimes is increased even to six thousand [i].

These engage by a solemn oath to decide according to the laws and the decrees of the senate and the people, to receive no present, to listen impartially to both parties, and to oppose with their utmost power all persons who shall make the least attempt to introduce innovations in the form of government. Dreadful imprecations against themselves and their families, should they violate it, conclude this oath, which contains several less essential particulars [k].

Were I, in this and the succeeding chapters, to attempt to follow the Athenian jurisprudence through all its mazes, I should inevitably bewilder myself in an obscure and difficult labyrinth; but I cannot overlook an institution which appears to me highly favourable to those who, though they appeal to the laws, wish not to be litigious. Every year, forty inferior judges go the circuit through the different towns of Attica [l], hold their assizes there, decide on certain acts of violence [m], and terminate all processes for small sums, not exceeding ten drachmas *, referring more considerable causes to arbitration [n].

These arbitrators are all persons of good reputation, and about sixty years of age. At the end of every year, they are drawn by lot out of each tribe, to the number of forty-four [o].

Persons who do not choose to expose themselves to the delays of ordinary justice, to deposit a sum of money previous

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i Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 123. Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 187. Lys. in Agorat. p. 244 Andoc. de Myst. par. 2. p. 3.

Demosth in Timocr. p. 796.

Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 100.

m Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992

* 9 livres (or 7 shillings and sixpence.)

n Poll. ibid.

o Suid. in Hesych Δικ. Ulpian. in Dem. Mid. p. 603.

to the judgment, or to pay the fine decreed againſt the plaintiff failing in his proofs, may conſide their intereſts to one or more arbitrators nominated by themſelves, or whom the archon draws by lot in their preſence [p]. When the arbitrators are of their own choice, they take an oath to abide by their deciſion, from which they then cannot appeal; but if they are choſen by lot, they are not deprived of that reſource [q]; and the arbitrators, encloſing the depoſitions of the witneſſes, and all the documents of the proceſs, in a box, which they carefully ſeal up, tranſmit them to the archon, whoſe duty it is to lay the cauſe before one of the higher tribunals [r].

If the archon has referred the matter in diſpute to arbitrators drawn by lot, at the requeſt only of one party, the adverſe party has the right either to demur againſt the competence of the tribunal, or to allege other exceptions [s].

Arbitrators called upon to decide in affairs where one of the parties are their friends or relations, might be tempted to pronounce an iniquitous judgment: in ſuch caſes, it is provided, that the cauſe may be removed into one of the ſovereign courts [t]. They might alſo permit themſelves to be corrupted by preſents, or be influenced by private prejudices: in which caſe the injured party has a right, at the expiration of the year, to proſecute them in a court of juſtice, and compel them to defend, and ſhow the reaſons of their award [u]. The fear of ſuch a ſcrutiny might likewiſe induce them to elude the exerciſe of theſe functions; but the law has provided againſt that, by fixing a ſtigma on every arbitrator, who, when drawn by lot, refuſes to perform his duty [x].

When I heard, for the firſt time, of an oath, I conſidered it as neceſſary only among rude nations, to whom falſehood might appear perhaps leſs criminal than perjury. Yet have I

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[p] Herald. Animadverſ. lib. 5. cap. 14. p. 570. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 344.
[q] Demoſth. in Aphob. p. 918. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 127.
[r] Herald. Animadv. p. 372.
[s] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 662.
[t] Demoſth. adv. Phorm. p. 943.
[u] Id. in Mid. p. 617. Ulpian. p. 663.
[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 126.

ſeen the Athenians exact it from magiſtrates, ſenators, judges, orators, witneſſes; from the accuſer who has ſo evident an intereſt to violate it, and from the accuſed, who is driven to the dilemma of offending againſt his religion, or fixing guilt on himſelf. But I have obſerved likewiſe, that this awful ceremony was now no more than a form, which is an inſult on the gods, uſeleſs to ſociety, and offenſive to thoſe who are under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to it. The philoſopher Xenocrates, being called upon one day to give his teſtimony, made his depoſition, and advanced towards the altar to confirm it. The judges bluſhed; and unanimouſly oppoſing the adminiſtration of the oath, rendered the higheſt honour to the integrity of ſo reſpectable a witneſs [y]. What idea then muſt they have entertained of the others?

The inhabitants of the iſlands and cities in ſubjection to the republic, are obliged to have their legal diſputes decided in the laſt reſort [z] before the tribunals of Athens. The ſtate derives a benefit from the duties they pay on entering the port, and the ſums they expend during their reſidence in the city. Another motive induces the Athenians to deprive them of the advantage of terminating their differences at home. If they had ſovereign juriſdictions, they would only have to look up to their governors for protection, and on numberleſs occaſions might oppreſs the friends of the democracy; whereas, by being obliged to repair to Athens, they are forced to humble themſelves before that people who are their judges in the tribunals, and who are but too well diſpoſed to deal out the juſtice they ſolicit according to the meaſure of affection they are ſuppoſed to entertain for their authority.

[y] Cicer. ad Attic. lib. 1. epiſt. 16. l. viii. p 69 Id. pro. Balb. cap. 5. t. vi. p. 127. Val. Max. lib. 2. extern. cap. 10. Laert. in Xenocr. § 7.

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 694. Ariſtoph. in Avib. v. 1422 et 1455.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Areopagus.

THE ſenate of the Areopagus, though the moſt ancient, is yet the moſt upright of the Athenian tribunals. It aſſembles ſometimes in the royal portico [a]; but its ordinary place of meeting is on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the citadel [b], and in a kind of hall, defended from the weather only by a ruſtic roof [c].

The number of ſenators is unlimited, and their places held for life [d]. The archons are admitted into this court after their year of office is expired [e]; but not till they have proved, in a ſolemn examination, that they have diſcharged their duty with equal zeal and fidelity [f]. If, in this examination, any ſhould be found either artful or powerful enough to elude the ſeverity of their cenſors, it is impoſſible for them, once become Areopagites, to reſiſt the authority of example; and they are forced to appear virtuous [g], as in certain military corps men are under the neceſſity of diſplaying courage.

The reputation this tribunal has enjoyed for ſo many centuries is founded on titles that will tranſmit its fame to ſucceeding ages [h]. Innocence, ſummoned to appear before it, approaches without apprehenſion; and the guilty, convicted and condemned, retire without daring to murmur [i].

The Areopagus keeps a ſtrict eye over the conduct of its members, and judges them without partiality, ſometimes even for trivial faults. A ſenator was puniſhed for having ſtifled a little bird, which, from fear, had taken refuge in his

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[a] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 831.
[b] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 52.
[c] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 118. Vitruv. lib. 2. cap. 1.
[d] Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Androt. p. 697.
[e] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Lept. p. 586.
[f] Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. Poll. ibid.
[g] Iſocr. Areopag. t. 1. p. 329 et 330.
[h] Cicer. Epiſt. ad Attic. lib. 1. epiſt. 14.
[i] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 735. Lycurg. in Leocrat. part 2. p. 149. Ariſtid. in Panath. t. 1. p. 185.

bosom [k]. He was thus taught, that he who has a heart shut against pity, should not be allowed to have the lives of the citizens at his mercy. The decisions of this court, therefore, are considered as standards, not only of wisdom, but of humanity. I saw a woman brought before it, accused of procuring the death of some person by poison. She had endeavoured to gain the affections of a man whom she passionately loved, by a philter of which he died. She was dismissed without punishment, the court deeming her more unfortunate than culpable [l] *.

Certain public bodies, as a recompence for their services, obtain a crown and other marks of honour from the people. That I am speaking of asks none, nor must solicit any [m], nothing distinguishing it so much as that it has no need of distinctions. In the infancy of comedy, all the Athenians were permitted to employ their genius in this new species of literature: the members of the Areopagus were alone excepted [n]; and, indeed, with what propriety could men so grave in their deportment, so rigid in their manners, pay attention to, or ridicule the follies of society?

The origin of this court is traced back to the time of Cecrops [o] but it is indebted for one more noble to Solon, who invested it with the superintendance of morals [p]. It then took cognizance of almost all crimes, all vices, and abuses. Murder, poisoning, robbery, conflagrations, libertinism, and innovations, either in the system of religion or the form of government, by turns excited its vigilance. It was empowered, by entering and examining private houses, to condemn every useless citizen as dangerous, and every expence not proportioned to the means of the citizen as criminal [q]. As it exhibited the greatest firmness in punishing crimes, and the

[k] Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1591.
[l] Aristot. in Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap 17. t. ii. p. 157.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[m] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 430.
[n] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 348.
[o] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 3.
[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[q] Meurs. Areop. cap. 9.

niceſt circumſpection in reforming manners; as it never employed chaſtiſement till advice and menaces were ſlighted [r]; it acquired the eſteem and love of the people, even while it exerciſed the moſt abſolute power.

The education of youth became the firſt object of its cares [s]. It pointed out to the children of citizens the path they ſhould purſue, and aſſigned them guides to conduct them in it. The Areopagus has been often known to ſtimulate by its bounties the emulation of the troops, and to decree rewards to individuals who diſcharged in obſcurity the duties of their ſtation [t]. It exerted ſo much zeal and conſtancy in maintaining the laws during the Perſian war, as greatly to add to the energy of government [u].

This inſtitution, too ſublime to have any long duration, ſubſiſted but about a century. Pericles undertook to enfeeble an authority incompatible with his own [x]. He had the *misfortune* to ſucceed; and from that moment there was an end to cenſors in the ſtate, or rather all the citizens aſſumed that office. Accuſations and informations multiplied, and morals received a fatal blow.

Its preſent juriſdiction, properly ſpeaking, is confined to murder, maimings, poiſonings, firing of buildings [y], and ſome other leſs conſiderable offences [z].

When the caſe is murder, the ſecond archon receives the informations, lays them before the Areopagus, takes his place among the judges [a], and pronounces with them the puniſhment preſcribed by laws engraven on a column [b].

When it is a crime that concerns religion or the ſtate, the power of this court is limited to preparing the matter for a

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[r] Hocr. Areopag. t. i. p. 334.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 332.
[t] Meurſ. Areop. cap. 9.
[u] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 391.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 59. Plut. in Pericl. p. 157.
[y] Lyſ. in Simon. p. 69. Demoſth. adv. Bœot. 2. p. 1012. Id. in Lept. p. 564. Liban. in Orat. adv. Androt. p. 696. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 117.
[z] Lyſ. Orat. Areop. p. 132.
[a] Poll lib. 8. cap. 9. § 90.
[b] Lyſ. in Eratoſt. p. 17.

trial. Sometimes it takes the informations of its own motion; ſometimes this office is aſſigned to it by the aſſembly of the people [c]. The proceedings ended, it makes its report to the people without coming to any concluſion. The accuſed then has it in his power to offer new pleas in his defence; and the people name orators to conduct the proſecution before one of the ſuperior courts.

Trials in the Areopagus are preceded by tremendous ceremonies. The two parties, placed amid the bleeding members of the victims, take an oath, which they confirm by dreadful imprecations againſt themſelves and families [d]. They call to witneſs the inexorable Eumenides, who, from a neighbouring temple, dedicated to their worſhip [e], ſeem to liſten to their invocation, and prepare to puniſh the perjured.

After theſe preliminaries, they proceed to the trial; in which truth alone is entitled to preſent herſelf to the judges, who dread eloquence not leſs than falſehood. The advocates muſt ſcrupulouſly baniſh from their harangues all exordia, perorations, digreſſions, and every ornament of ſtyle, nay, even the language of ſentiment; that language which ſo violently inflames the imagination, and has ſo great a power over commiſerating minds [f]. Paſſion would paint itſelf in vain in the eyes and geſtures of the orator, ſince the Areopagus generally holds its aſſemblies in the night.

The queſtion having been ſufficiently diſcuſſed, the judges depoſit in ſilence their ſuffrages in two urns, one of which is called the urn of death, the other the urn of mercy [g]. When the numbers are equal, an inferior officer adds, in favour of the accuſed, the ſuffrage of Minerva [h]; ſo called, becauſe, according to an ancient tradition, this goddeſs, being preſent

[c] Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 179, 180, &c.
[d] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736. Dinarch. adv. Dem. p. 178.
[e] Meurſ. in Areop. cap. 2.
[f] Lyſ. adv. Simon. p. 88. Lycurg. in Leocr. part 2. p. 149. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 512. Lucian. in Anach. t. ii. p. 899. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 117.
[g] Meurſ. Areop. cap. 8.
[h] Ariſtid. Orat. in Min. t. i. p. 24.

in the court of Areopagus at the trial of Oreſtes, gave her caſting vote to turn the ſcale of juſtice.

On important occaſions, when the people, inflamed by their orators, are on the point of adopting ſome meaſure injurious to the welfare of the ſtate, the Areopagites have ſometimes preſented themſelves to the aſſembly, and by arguments or entreaties prevailed on them to liſten to reaſon [i]. The people, who have nothing to fear from their authority, but who reſpect their wiſdom, ſometimes permit them to reviſe their deciſions. The facts I am about to mention happened in my time.

A citizen who had been baniſhed from Athens, had the temerity to return. He was accuſed before the people, who thought proper to acquit him, at the inſtigation of a favourite orator. The Areopagus taking cognizance of the affair, ordered the criminal to be ſeized, recommenced the proſecution, and prevailed on the people to condemn him [k].

Deputies were to be ſent to the council of the Amphictyons, and amongſt thoſe whom the people had made choice of was the orator Æſchines, whoſe conduct was not entirely exempt from ſuſpicion. The Areopagus, on whoſe ſtern virtue talents without probity make no impreſſion, inſtituted an inquiry into the conduct of Æſchines, and pronounced that the orator Hyperides appeared to them more worthy of ſo honourable a commiſſion. The people immediately appointed Hyperides [l].

It is a pleaſing reflection that the Areopagus, ſtripped as it is of almoſt all its functions, has neither forfeited its reputation, nor departed from its integrity, but even in its decline continues to command the public reſpect. I ſhall mention another example that paſſed under my eyes.

The Areopagus had repaired to the general aſſembly, to give its opinion reſpecting the project of a citizen named Ti-

i Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.
k Demoſth. de Coron. p. 495.
l Id. ibid.

marchus, who was ſoon after proſcribed for the depravity of his manners. Autolycus addreſſed them in the name of the whole court. This ſenator, educated in the ſimplicity of ancient times, and a ſtranger to the ſhameful abuſe to which the moſt ordinary terms of converſation are now perverted, ſuffered a word to drop from him, which, miſconſtrued from its real ſenſe, admitted of an alluſion to the licentious life of Timarchus. The whole aſſembly applauded him in a tranſport, and Autolycus, aſtoniſhed, aſſumed a ſeverer countenance. After a moment's pauſe, he attempted to proceed; but the people putting an arch conſtruction on the moſt innocent expreſſions, never ceaſed to interrupt him by a confuſed noiſe and immoderate burſts of laughter. A diſtinguiſhed citizen now riſing, exclaimed, Are you not aſhamed, Athenians, to be guilty of ſuch indecency in preſence of the Areopagites? The people anſwered, that they felt all the veneration due to the majeſty of that tribunal; but that there were circumſtances in which it was impoſſible to reſtrain themſelves within the bounds of decorum [m]. What virtues muſt not this body have poſſeſſed to have eſtabliſhed and maintained ſo high an opinion of the reſpect due to it in the minds of the people; and what good might it not have produced, had they known how to value it as it deſerved?

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Accuſations and Legal Procedures among the Athenians.

THE cauſes brought before the courts of juſtice concern either offences againſt the government, or againſt individuals. In the former caſe, every citizen may indiſcriminately ſtep forward as a proſecutor; in the latter, the injured perſon alone poſſeſſes that right. The puniſhment for crimes againſt

[m] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 272.

the ſtate is often capital; but for offences againſt individuals, it is confined to damages and pecuniary ſatisfaction.

In a democracy, more than in any other government, the injury done to the ſtate becomes perſonal to every citizen, and violence towards an individual is a crime againſt the ſtate [t]. At Athens it is not thought ſufficient that public proſecutions may be commenced againſt thoſe who betray their country, or are guilty of impiety, ſacrilege, or firing the city [u]: ſuch a proſecution lies alſo againſt the general who has not performed every thing which he ought to have done or might have done; againſt the ſoldier who abſents himſelf from the enrolment, or deſerts from the army; againſt the ambaſſador, the magiſtrate, the judge, or the orator, who have been guilty of miſconduct; againſt the individual who has aſſumed the privileges of a citizen, without the neceſſary qualifications, or who has taken on himſelf any office from which he is excluded; againſt the man who corrupts his judges, debauches youth, remains in celibacy, or attacks the life or honour of a citizen; in fine, againſt all who are guilty of offences which evidently tend to diſturb the government, or endanger the ſafety of the citizens.

Litigations on the ſubject of a diſputed inheritance, a breach of truſt, an uncertain debt, damage received in property, and a variety of other caſes which do not immediately concern the ſtate, afford matter of trial between the parties [x].

The proceedings vary in ſome points, as well from the difference of the courts in which they are inſtituted as from that of the offences. I ſhall confine myſelf to the eſſential formalities.

Public actions are ſometimes commenced before the ſenate, or before the people [y], who, after a firſt deciſion, refer them

[t] Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 610.
[u] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 40; &c.
[x] Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. lib. 3.
[y] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 603; in Everg. p. 1058. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 51. Harpocr. in *Eleoy*.

to one of the ſuperior courts [z]; but, in general, the accuſer addreſſes himſelf to one of the chief magiſtrates [a], who puts ſeveral interrogatories to him, and aſks him whether he has reflected well on the ſtep he is about to take, if he is prepared, if it would not be to his advantage to have further proofs, if he has witneſſes, if he wiſhes to be provided with any. He appriſes him at the ſame time that he muſt take an oath to go on with the proſecution, and that a kind of infamy is annexed to the violation of that oath. He then appoints the trial, and makes the accuſer appear a ſecond time in his preſence, when he repeats the ſame queſtions; and if he ſtill perſiſts, his declaration remains fixed up in ſome public place, till the judges are ready to hear the cauſe [b].

The accuſed then puts in his plea, grounded either on a former deciſion, long preſcription, or the incompetence of the court [c]. He may put off the trial, bring an action againſt his adverſary, and defer for ſome time the judgment which he fears.

After theſe preliminaries, which are not practicable in all caſes, the parties ſwear to ſpeak the truth, and perſonally begin to diſcuſs the cauſe. They are allowed a limited time to explain themſelves, meaſured by drops of water falling from a veſſel [d]. In general they do but repeat what more eloquent tongues have dictated to them in private. After they have done ſpeaking, they may ſolicit the aſſiſtance of orators who poſſeſs their confidence, or intereſt themſelves in their fate [e].

In the courſe of the trial, the witneſſes give their teſtimony aloud. For in criminal, as well as in civil caſes, it is

[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 633. Herald. Animadv. p. 233.

[a] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 314.

[b] Demoſth. in Theocrin. p. 850. Id. in Mid. p. 619 et 620. Ulp. in Orat. adv. Mid. p. 641, 662 et 668. Pet. Leg. Att. 318.

[c] Demoſth. adv. Pantæn. p. 292. Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 662. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 57. Sigon. de Rep. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 4.

[d] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 172. Ariſtoph. Acharn. v. 692. Schol. ibid. Demoſth. et Æſchin. paſſim. Lucian. Piſcat. cap. 28. t. i. p. 597.

[e] Demoſth. in Nær. p. 863. Æſch. de Faſſ. Leg. p. 444. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 462.

a rule that all proceedings ſhould be public. The accuſer may require the ſlaves of the adverſe party to be put to the torture [f]. It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive that a barbarity ſo dreadful could have been exerciſed on men whoſe fidelity ought not to be tempted, if they are attached to their maſters; and whoſe teſtimony cannot but be ſuſpicious if they are diſcontented with them. Sometimes one of the parties, of his own free will, preſents his ſlaves to this inhuman proof [g], perſuaded that he has the right, as he unfortunately has the power, to commit this cruel act. Sometimes he refuſes the requiſition made him for this purpoſe [h], either from the dread of a depoſition extorted by the violence of the tortures, or that his heart liſtens to the remonſtrances of humanity; but his refuſal in this caſe gives room for the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions, whilſt nothing inſpires a more favourable prejudice in behalf of the parties or witneſſes, than when they offer, as a corroboration of what they affirm, to take an oath upon the head of their children, or of their parents [i].

We ſhall only curſorily obſerve, that the torture cannot be inflicted on a citizen but in extraordinary caſes.

Previous to pronouncing the judgment, the magiſtrate who preſides at the tribunal, diſtributes to each of the judges a white ball to acquit, and a black one to condemn, the party accuſed [k]. An officer appriſes them that the queſtion is ſimply confined to the deciſion of guilty, or not guilty, and they proceed to depoſit their ſuffrages in a box. If there be a majority of black balls, the preſident of the court traces out a long line on a tablet covered with wax, expoſed to every eye; if the white are moſt numerous, a ſhorter line [l]; and if the voices be equal, the accuſed is acquitted [m].

[f] Demoſth in Neær p. 880; in Onet. 1. p. 924; in Pantæn. p 993.

[g] Id. in Aphob. 3. p. 913; in Nicoſtr. p. 1107.

[h] Demoſth. in Steph. 1. p. 977 Iſocr in Trapezit. t. ii. p. 477.

[i] Demoſth. in Aphop. 3. p. 913. et 917.

[k] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 123. Meurſ. Areop cap. 8.

[l] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 106. Schol. ibid.

[m] Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 469. Ariſtot. Problem ſect. 29. t. ii. p. 812. Id. de Rhetor. cap. 19. t. ii. p. 628.

In cases where the punishment is specified by law, this first judgment is sufficient; but when that is only expressed in the declaration of the prosecutor, the offender has a right to demand a mitigation; and this second question is decided by a new trial, to which they instantly proceed [n].

He who, having commenced a prosecution, either drops it, or fails in obtaining the fifth part of the suffrages [o], is generally sentenced to a penalty of one thousand drachmas [*]. But as nothing is so easy nor so dangerous as invidious accusations on the subject of religion, the punishment of death is decreed, in certain cases, against the man who shall accuse another of impiety, without being able to convict him [p].

Private causes are, in many points, conducted in the same mode with public prosecutions, and are, for the most part, brought, in the first instance, before the tribunals of the archons, who sometimes pronounce a sentence subject to an appeal [q], and sometimes content themselves with taking the necessary informations, which they lay before the superior courts [r].

There are causes which may be prosecuted civilly by a private accusation, and criminally by a public action. Such is the nature of an insult committed on the person of a citizen [s]. The laws, whose intention it is to provide for his safety, authorise all his fellow citizens publicly to prosecute the aggressor; but the choice of his vengeance is left to the offended, who may sue for a sum of money if he brings a civil action, and even punish the offender with death, if he lays a criminal indictment. The orators frequently abuse these laws, by changing, by insidious artifices, those suits into criminal, which in their origin were merely civil.

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[n] Ulpian. in Demosth. adv. Timarch. p. 822. Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 335.

[o] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 36. Demosth de Cor. p. 517; in Mid. p. 616; in Androt. p. 702; in Aristocr. p. 738; in Timocr. p. 774; in Theocrin. p. 850.

[*] 900 livres (or 37l. 10s). This sum was very considerable when the law was first made.

[p] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. § 41.

[q] Demosth. in Onet. 1. p. 93 Id. in Olymp. p. 1068. Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

[r] Ulpian. in Orat. Demost. adv. Mid. p. 641.

[s] Herald. Animadv. in Jus Att. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 128.

Nor is this the only danger the parties have to apprehend. I have ſeen judges, inattentive during the reading of the documents, loſe ſight of the queſtion, and give their ſuffrages at a venture [t]; I have ſeen men, powerful from their wealth, publicly inſult the poorer people, who durſt not demand reparation for the offence [u]; I have ſeen them eternize, in ſome ſort, a law-ſuit, by obtaining ſucceſſive delays, and prevent the tribunals from determining on their crimes, till the public indignation had ſubſided [x]; I have ſeen them appear in court, eſcorted by a numerous retinue of corrupt witneſſes, and even of honeſt men, who, from weakneſs, ſubmitted to increaſe the train of their attendants, and lend them the ſanction of their preſence [y]: I have ſeen them, in a word, arm the ſuperior tribunals againſt ſubordinate judges who had refuſed to aid them in their unjuſt proceedings [z].

Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, there are ſo many modes of getting rid of a rival, or of taking vengeance of an enemy; ſo many public accuſations are combined with private litigations, that it may be confidently aſſerted, that more cauſes are brought before the tribunals of Athens than before thoſe of all Greece [a]. This abuſe is inevitable in a ſtate, which, in order to reſtore its exhauſted finances, has frequently no other reſource but that of facilitating public accuſations, and of profiting by the confiſcations ariſing from them: it is inevitable in a ſtate in which the citizens, obliged mutually to watch each other, perpetually ſtruggling for honours, contending for employments, and having accounts to ſettle with the government, neceſſarily aſſume the character of ſpies and cenſors. A multitude of informers, always odious, but always formidable, inflame theſe inteſtine diſſenſions; diſſeminate ſuſpicions and diffidence through ſociety; and audaciouſly ſeize on the remains of the fortunes they have ruined.

[t] Æſchin. in Creſiph. p. 459.
[u] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 616 et 621.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 625.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 617.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 699.

They have indeed againſt them the ſeverity of the laws, and the contempt of virtuous men; but in their favour they have the pretext of public good, ſo often made an inſtrument in the hands of ambition and private enmity; and they have alſo, what is of ſtill more avail to obtain their ends, their effrontery and their inſolence.

The Athenians are leſs terrified than foreigners at the vices of an abſolute democracy. The extreme of liberty appears to them ſo great a bleſſing, that, to preſerve it, they ſacrifice even their tranquillity. Beſides, if public accuſations be a ſubject of terror to ſome, they contribute to the pleaſure and entertainment of the reſt of the people, as they have almoſt all a decided taſte for the chicane and artifices of the bar, to which they give themſelves up with that ardour which eſpecially characterizes them in all their purſuits [b]. Their activity derives new life from eternal and ſubtle diſcuſſions of their intereſts; and it is poſſibly to this, more than to any other cauſe, that we are to attribute that ſuperior penetration, and that turbulent eloquence, which diſtinguiſh the Athenians from every other people on earth.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Crimes and Puniſhments.

Some penal laws are engraven on columns placed near the tribunals [c]. If ſuch monuments could be ſo multiplied as to exhibit an exact ſcale of all offences, and the correſponding puniſhments, we ſhould ſee more equity in judgments, and fewer crimes would be committed againſt ſociety. But no attempt has any where been made to appreciate each particular tranſgreſſion; yet is it matter of univerſal complaint that

[b] Ariſtoph in Pac. v. 504. Id. in Equit. v. 1314. Schol. ibid.

[c] Lyſ. pro Cæd. Eratoſt. p. 17. Andoc. de Myſter. p. 12.

there is no uniform ſtandard for the puniſhment of the guilty. The juriſprudence of Athens ſupplies, in many caſes, the ſilence of the laws. We have already ſaid, that when theſe do not ſpecify the penalty, a previous trial is neceſſary to declare the culprit convicted of the crime, and a ſecond to determine the chaſtiſement he merits [d]. In the interval between theſe deciſions, the judges demand of the offender to what puniſhment he would condemn himſelf. He is allowed to make choice of that which is the mildeſt and leaſt injurious to his intereſt, though the accuſer may have called for the ſevereſt and that moſt conformable to his hatred: the orators diſcuſs both; and the judges, acting in ſome meaſure as arbitrators, endeavour to conciliate the parties, and eſtabliſh as juſt a proportion as poſſible between the offence and the puniſhment [e].

All the Athenians are liable to ſuffer the ſame puniſhments; all may be deprived of life, of liberty, of their country, of their property, and privileges. Let us take a curſory view of theſe different articles.

The laws of Athens puniſh with death, ſacrilege [f]; profanation of the myſteries [g]; enterpriſes againſt the ſtate, and eſpecially againſt the democracy [h]; deſerters [i]; thoſe who give up to the enemy a ſtrong hold, a galley, or a detachment of troops [k]; all crimes, in ſhort, that directly attack religion government, or the life of an individual.

The ſame puniſhment is inflicted for robbery committed in the day, when exceeding the value of fifty drachmas *; or robbery by night of the ſmalleſt ſum; for theft committed in

[d] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 460. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. p. 192. § 3. Pet. leg. Att. p. 335.

[e] Ulpian. in Demoſth. adv. Timocr. p. 822.

[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 450. Id. Memorab. lib. 1. p. 721. Diod. lib. 16. p. 427. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Andocid. de Myſt. part 1. p 1.

Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 33.

[h] Xenoph. ut ſuprà. Andocid. de Myſt. p. 13. Plut. in Publ. t. i. p. 110.

[i] Suid. et Heſych. in Αὐτομολ. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 563.

[k] Lyſ. contr. Philon. p. 498.

* Upwards of 45 livres (or 1l. 17s. 6d.).

the baths, and in the gymnaſia, no matter how trifling the loſs [l].

Criminals are generally deprived of life by the rope, the ſword, or poiſon [m]; ſometimes they are made to expire under the baſtinado [n]; ſometimes they are thrown into the ſea [o], or into a pit full of ſharp ſpikes, to haſten their death [p]; for it is conſidered as a ſpecies of impiety to ſuffer even criminals to die with hunger [q].

The citizen accuſed of certain crimes is detained in priſon until he is tried [r], if condemned to die, until his execution [s]; the man who owes money till he has paid his debt [t]. Some crimes are expiated by an impriſonment of ſeveral years, or a few days [u]; others only by perpetual confinement [x]. In certain caſes perſons accuſed may avoid the priſon by giving bail [y]; in others, the criminals confined there are loaded with chains, ſo that they are unable to move [z].

Baniſhment is a puniſhment the more rigorous to an Athenian, as he can no where find the ſame enjoyments as in his own country, and the reſources of friendſhip cannot alleviate his misfortune. A citizen who ſhould grant him an aſylum, would be ſubject to the ſame puniſhment [a].

This proſcription takes place under two remarkable circumſtances: 1ſt, A man acquitted of an involuntary murder muſt abſent himſelf for a whole year; nor return to Athens till he has given ſatisfaction to the relations of the deceaſed,

[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. i. p. 721. Demoſth. in Tim. p. 791. Iſocr. in Lochit. t. ii. p. 550. Ariſtot Probl. ſect. 29. t. ii. p. 814. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 528. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Att. lib. 4. cap. 8.

[m] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 364. Pott. Archæolog. Græc. lib 1. cap. 25.

[n] Lyſ. in Agorat. p. 253 et 257

[o] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1360.

[p] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 431. d. in Equit. v. 1359. Schol. ibid. Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 181.

[q] Sophocl. in Antig. v. 786. Schol. ib.

[r] Andoc. de Myſt. part 2. p. 7 et 12.

[s] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58.

[t] Andocid. de Myſt. part 1. p. 12. Demoſth. in Apat. p. 983. Id. in Ariſtogit. p. 837.

[u] Demoſth. in. Tim. p. 789. 791. et 792.

[x] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37.

[y] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 795.

[z] Plat. Apol. Socrat. t. i. p. 37. Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 789. Ulpian. ibid. p. 818.

[a] Demoſth. in Polycl. p. 1091.

and purified himself by sacred ceremonies [b]. 2dly, He who, accused before the Areopagus of a premeditated murder, despairs of his cause, after a first hearing, may, before the judges proceed to give their votes, condemn himself to exile, and withdraw unmolested [c]. His property is confiscated, but his person is in safety, provided he does not appear either in the territory of the republic, or at any of the solemn festivals of Greece; for, in that case, every Athenian is allowed to drag him to justice, or put him to death. This is founded on the principle that a murderer ought not to breathe the same air, or enjoy the same advantages, which were enjoyed by the person whom he has deprived of life [d].

Confiscations are in a great measure applied to the public treasury, into which all fines are paid, after deducting a tenth part for the worship of Minerva, and a fiftieth for that of some other deities [e].

Degradation deprives a man of all or part of the rights of a citizen; a penalty strictly conformable to the general order of things; for it is but just to compel him to renounce privileges he has abused. This is the punishment most easily proportioned to the offence; for it is susceptible of gradations according to the nature and number of these privileges [f]. Sometimes it prohibits the offender from ascending the rostrum, from attending at the general assembly, or from taking his seat among the senators or judges; sometimes it interdicts him from entering the temples, and all participation in the sacred rites; in some cases he is forbidden to appear in the forum, or to travel in certain countries; in others, by depriving him of every thing, he is left with only the burden of a life destitute of enjoyment, and a liberty which he cannot exercise [g].

[b] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 512.

[c] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 736. Poll. lib. 8 cap. 9. § 99.

[d] Demosth. in Arist. p. 729 et 730. Herald. Animadv. in Jus Attic. p. 300.

[e] Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 791. Id. adv. Theocr. p. 852. Id. adv. Aristog. p. 831. Id. adv. Neær. p. 861.

[f] Andocid. de Myster. part 2. p. 10.

[g] Andocid. de Myster. part 2. p. 10. Demosth. orat. 2. in Aristog. p. 832, 834, 836, et 845. Æsch. in Ctesiph. Lys. in Andoc. p. 115. Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 662 et 665.

This is a very heavy and highly ſalutary puniſhment in a democracy, inaſmuch as the privileges forfeited by this degradation being there deemed of more importance, and held in higher eſtimation, than in other governments, nothing is ſo mortifying to a citizen as to find himſelf reduced below his equals. An individual in this predicament is as it were a dethroned citizen, left among ſociety as an example to others.

This interdiction is not always attended with opprobrium. An Athenian who has introduced himſelf into the cavalry, without undergoing a previous examination, is puniſhed, becauſe he has infringed the laws [h]; but he is not diſhonoured, becauſe he has not offended againſt good morals. From a neceſſary conſequence, this ſpecies of ſtigma diſappears, when the cauſe which gave riſe to it ceaſes to exiſt. He who ſtands indebted to the public treaſury, forfeits the rights of citizenſhip; but he is reinſtated in thoſe rights the moment he has ſatisfied the claims of the ſtate [i]. By the ſame train of reaſoning, the republic does not bluſh to call to her aſſiſtance, in the hour of imminent danger, all the citizens who have been ſuſpended from their functions [k]. But it is a neceſſary ſtep previouſly to revoke the decree that had condemned them; and this revocation can only be affected by a tribunal compoſed of ſix thouſand judges, and muſt be ſubject to conditions impoſed by the ſenate and the people [l].

Irregularity of conduct and depravity of manners produce another kind of ignominy which the laws have it not in their power to efface; but by uniting their authority with that of the public opinion, they take from the citizen who has loſt the eſteem of others, the reſources he found in his rank in life. Thus, by excluding from public offices and employ-

h Lyſ. in Alcib. p. 277. Tayl. Lection. Lyſiac. p. 717.
i Demoſth. in Theocrin. p. 857. Liban. in Argum. Orat. Demoſth. adv. Ariſtog. p. 843.
k Andocid. de Myſt. p. 14. Demoſth. adv. Ariſtog p. 846.
l Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 780.

ments the man who has ill-treated his parents [m], the ſoldier who has cowardly abandoned his ſtation, or his buckler [n], they publicly brand him with a mark of infamy that neceſſarily compels remorſe.

CHAP. XX.

Manners and Civil Life of the Athenians.

At the crowing of the cock, the inhabitants of the country enter the city with their proviſions, ſinging ancient ballads [o]. At the ſame hour, the ſhops open with no little noiſe, and all the Athenians are in motion [p]. Some reſume the labours of their profeſſion; others diſperſe themſelves, in conſiderable numbers, among the different tribunals, to exerciſe the functions of judges.

Among the people, as well as in the army, it is cuſtomary to make two meals a-day [q]; but perſons of a certain rank content themſelves with one [r], which ſome eat at noon [s]; but the greater number a little before the ſetting of the ſun [t]. In the afternoon they take a few moments ſleep [u], or play with little pieces of bone, or at dice, and other games of commerce [x].

In the firſt of theſe games they make uſe of four ſmall pieces of bone, having one of theſe four numbers; 1, 3, 4, and 6 [y], on each of their ſides. From their different combinations reſult 35 throws, to which they have given the names of gods, princes, heroes, &c [z]. Some are loſing, and others

[m] Laert. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55.
[n] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 10.
[o] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 278.
[p] Id. in Avib. v. 490. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. No. 161.
[q] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 63. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 573. Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1060. Theophr. Charact. cap. 3.
[r] Plat. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 326. Anthol. lib. 2. p. 185.
[s] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 9. p. 11.
[t] Id. ibid. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 648. Schol. ibid.
[u] Pherecr. ap. Athen. lib. 3. p. 75.
[x] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 63. Theop ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 532.
[y] Lucian. de Amor. t. ii. p. 415 Poll. lib. 9. cap. 7. § 100.
[z] Euſt. ad Iliad. Ψ. p. 1289. Meurſ de Lud. Græc. in Ἄστραγ.

winning throws. The moſt favourable of all is that they call Venus, which is when the four bones turn up the four different numbers [a].

In the game of dice, they likewiſe diſtinguiſh lucky and unlucky throws [b]; but frequently without attending to this diſtinction, it is only neceſſary to caſt a higher number than the adverſary [c]. The pair-royal of ſix is the moſt fortunate throw [d]. Only three dice are employed at this game. They ſhake them in a dice box, and, to prevent cheating, throw them into a hollow cylinder, through which they paſs, and roll upon the chequer board [e]*. Sometimes, inſtead of three dice, they make uſe of three of the little bones above mentioned.

The preceding games are games of pure chance; but the following entirely depends on judgment. On a table on which are traced lines or pyramidal points [f], they range on each ſide pieces, or men, of different colours [g]. The ſkill of this game conſiſts in ſuſtaining one piece by the other, in taking thoſe of the adverſary, when he leaves them unguarded; or in blocking him up, ſo as to prevent him from advancing [h]: but he is permitted to play again when he has made a wrong move [i] †.

Sometimes the latter game is played with dice, the player regulating the moves of his men or pieces by the number he throws. In this caſe it is his buſineſs to know what throws will prove fatal or advantageous to him, and to profit by the

[a] Lucian. ibid. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 13; lib. 2. c. 21. t. iii. p. 12 et 64.
[b] Meurſ. de Lud. Græc. in Κυβ.
[c] Poll. lib. 9 cap. 7. § 117.
[d] Æſchyl. in Agam. v. 33. Schol. ibid. Heſych. in Τρὶς Ἓξ. Not. ibid.
[e] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 269. Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 203. Id. lib. 10. cap. 31. § 150. Harpocr in Διαστιγ. et in Φιλ. Valeſ. ibid. Suid in Διαστ. Salmaſ. in Vopiſc. p. 469.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[f] Sophocl. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 7 § 97.
[g] Poll. ibid. § 98.
[h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 487.
[i] Id. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Heſych. et Suid. in Ἀναθ.
† It is preſumed that this game bore ſome reſemblance to the game of draughts, or cheſs; and the following, to that of backgammon. The reader may conſult Meurſ. de Lud. Græc. in Πεσσ. Buleng. de Lud. Veter. Hyde. Hiſt. Nerd. Salmaſ. in Vopiſc. p. 459.

favours of fortune, or by judgment correct her caprices [k]. This, as well as the preceding game, requires a number of combinations, and to excel at it, ſhould be practiſed from early youth [l]. Some perſons acquire ſuch a degree of ſkill, that their names become celebrated, and that no perſon will venture to play againſt them [m].

At different times of the day, and eſpecially in the morning, before noon, and in the evening, before ſupper, the company repair to the banks of the Iliſſus and the environs of the city, to enjoy the extreme pureneſs of the air, and the delightful proſpects that preſents themſelves on every ſide [n]; but the uſual place of meeting is the forum, the moſt frequented part of the whole city [o]. As it is there that the general aſſembly is often held, and the palace of the ſenate, and the tribunal of the chief archon are ſituated, almoſt every one is attracted thither by his own private buſineſs, or the affairs of the ſtate [p]. Many perſons reſort thither for amuſement, and others in ſearch of employment. At certain hours, the ſquare cleared from all the incumbrances of the market, leaves an open field for thoſe who wiſh to entertain themſelves with obſervations on the crowd, or make a diſplay of their own perſons.

Around the ſquare are the ſhops of perfumers *, goldſmiths, barbers, &c. open to every perſon [q], in which the intereſts of the ſtate, anecdotes of private families, and the vices or ridiculous conduct of individuals, are warmly and clamorouſly diſcuſſed. From amidſt theſe groups, which by a confuſed motion are perpetually ſeparating and re-uniting, iſſue a thou-

[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 604. Plut. in Pyrr. t. i. p. 400.

[l] Id ibid. lib. ii. p. 734.

[m] Athen. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 16.

[n] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 227 et 229.

[o] Meurſ. in Ceram. cap 16.

[p] Demoſth. in Ariſtogit. p. 836.

* Inſtead of ſaying, *Let us go to the perfumers*, they ſaid, *Let us go to the perfume*; as we ſay in France, *Let us go to the coffee*, and not *coffee-houſe*. (*Allons au caffé.*) Poll. lib. 10. cap. 2. § 19. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1372. Spanh. et Kuſter. ibid.

[q] Ariſtoph. in Equit. Lyſ. adv. Delat. p. 413. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 606. Id. in Phorm. p. 942. Theophr. charact. cap. 11. Caſaub et Duport. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 1. ſcen. 2. v. 39.

ſand ingenious or ſatyrical pleaſantries againſt thoſe who mix with the company in a ſlovenly habit [r], or preſume to diſplay an offenſive oſtentation [s]: for this people, paſſionately addicted to raillery, are expert at a kind of facetiouſneſs the more formidable, as their malignity is dexterouſly concealed under it [t]. Sometimes we meet with a ſelect company, and inſtructive converſation, in the different porticos diſperſed through the city [u]. Such little parties cannot but be numerous among the Athenians. Their inſatiable thirſt for news, ariſing from the natural activity of their minds, and the idleneſs of their lives, forces them to ſeek the ſociety of each other

This taſte, which is ſo predominant as to draw on them the name of Loiterers or Loungers [x], in time of war becomes a kind of madneſs. There it is that in public and in private, their converſations turn on military expeditions, and that their firſt queſtion on meeting is, What news [y]? Then are ſeen on every ſide thoſe ſwarms of news-mongers, tracing out upon the ground, or on a wall, the map of the country in which the army then is [z], loudly proclaiming its ſucceſſes, and whiſpering its defeats [a]; collecting and exaggerating rumours which either throw the city into the moſt immoderate joy, or plunge it into the very depth of deſpair [b].

The Athenians employ their hours of peace in amuſements of a more pleaſing nature. As the greater part of them cultivate their own eſtates, they mount their horſes in the morning, and, after directing the labours of their ſlaves, return in the evening to the city [c].

Their time is ſometimes filled up by hunting [d], and the exerciſes of the gymnaſium [e]. Beſides the public baths, whi-

[r] Theophr. Charact. cap. 19.
[s] Id. cap. 21.
[t] Lucian. de Gymn. t. ii. p. 897.
[u] Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.
[x] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1260.
[y] Demoſth. Philipp. 1. p. 49.
[z] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 199; in Nic. p. 531.
[a] Theophr. Charact. cap. 8.
[b] Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 542. Id. in Garrul. t. ii. p. 509.
[c] Xenoph. Œconom. p. 831.
[d] Id. ibid. Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 373. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1082.
[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.

ther the people flock in crowds, and which ſerve the poor as an aſylum againſt the inclemencies of winter [f], private perſons have baths in their houſes [g], and the uſe of them has become ſo indiſpenſable, that they are introduced even on board their veſſels [h]. They frequently take a bathe after their walk, and almoſt always previous to a repaſt [i]. They come out of the bath perfumed with eſſences; and theſe odours mingle with thoſe they carefully ſprinkle over their garments, which are diſtinguiſhed by different names, according to the difference of their form and colours [k].

In general they are contented with throwing over a tunic that deſcends to the midleg [l], a mantle which almoſt entirely covers them. None but the country people, or perſons without education, tuck up the different parts of their dreſs above the knee [m].

Many perſons go barefooted [n]; others, whither in the city, or on a journey, nay ſometimes even at proceſſions [o], cover their heads with a large flapped hat.

In the form and diſpoſition of the ſeveral parts of dreſs, the men are expected to ſtudy decency, the women to unite elegance with taſte. The latter wear, 1ſt, a white tunic, which is faſtened with buttons over the ſhoulders, cloſely bound under the boſom with a broad ſaſh [p], and deſcends in waving folds down to the heels [q]: 2dly, a ſhorter robe, confined round the waiſt by a broad ribbon [r], and, like the tunic, bordered at the bottom by ſtripes or edgings of different colours [s]; ſometimes it has ſleeves covering only part of the arm: 3dly, a robe, which is ſometimes worn gathered up

[f] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 535. Schol. ibid.
[g] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 116. Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1110. Theophr. cap. 28.
[h] Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Nub. v. 987.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 13. Winkel. Hiſt. de l'Art, liv. 4. chap. 5.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 61.
[m] Theophr. Charact. cap. 4. Caſaub. ib. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 21.
[n] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 229. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 5. p. 583.
[o] Drawings of Nointel, preſerved in the king's library at Paris.
[p] Achill. Tat. de Clitoph. et Leucip. Amor. lib. 1. cap. 1.
[q] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 16.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 14. § 65.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 13. § 52; cap. 14. § 6.

like a ſkarf, and at others ſuffered to unfold itſelf over the body, the contours and proportions of which it is peculiarly well adapted to diſplay; for this they often ſubſtitute a light mantlet [t]. When they go out they wear a veil over their heads.

Flax [u], cotton [x], and, above all, wool, are the materials of which the garments of the Athenians are moſt uſually made. The tunic was formerly of linen [y]; it is now of cotton. The common people wear a cloth which has not been dyed, and which will waſh [z]. The rich uſually prefer cloths of various colours. They particularly eſteem thoſe dyed in ſcarlet, by means of little ſeeds of a reddiſh colour gathered from a certain ſhrub [a]; but they ſet a ſtill greater value on purple [b], and eſpecially on the cloths of a very deep red, with a mixture of the violet [c].

Very light dreſſes are made for ſummer [d]. In winter ſome wear large robes imported from Sardes, the cloth of which, manufactured at Ecbatana in Media, is covered with thick flocks of wool, intended to defend the wearer from the cold [e].

We likewiſe ſee ſtuffs embroidered with gold [f]; and others worked with the moſt beautiful flowers in their natural colours [g]; but theſe are employed only in the veſtments with which they cover the ſtatues of the gods [h], or for the dreſs of the actors at the theatre [i]. To prevent modeſt women from wearing them, the laws direct that they ſhall be worn by females of looſe reputation [k].

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[t] Winkelm. Hiſt. de l'Art, liv. 4. chap. 5. p. 185.
[u] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 16.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 17. Pauſan. lib. 5. p. 384; lib. 7. p. 578. Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 120.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6.
[z] Ferrar. de Re Veſt. lib. 4. cap. 13.
[a] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 105.
[b] Plut. in Alcibiad. t. i. p. 198.
[c] Goguet, de l'Orig. des Lois, &c. t. i. p. 100.
[d] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 716.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1132.
[f] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 18. § 116.
[g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 557.
[h] Ariſtot. Æcon. t. i. p. 511. Ælian. lib. 1. cap. 20.
[i] Poll. lib. 4. cap. 18. § 116.
[k] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 477.

The Athenian women paint their eye-brows black, and apply to their faces a layer of ceruſe or white lead, with deep tints of rouge [l]. They ſprinkle over their hair, which is crowned with flowers [m], a yellow coloured powder [n]. In proportion as they wiſh to increaſe or diminiſh their ſtature, they wear higher or lower heels [o].

Shut up in their apartments, they are deprived of the pleaſure of participating in, and adding to, the pleaſure of the companies aſſembled by their huſbands. The law permit them to go out in the day only on certain occaſions, and never in the night-time but in a carriage, and with a flambeau to light them [p]; but this law, defective, becauſe it is impoſſible to extend its operation to all conditions, leaves the women of the lower claſſes in a ſtate of perfect liberty [q], and is become for thoſe of a higher claſs only a ſimple rule of decorum, a rule which urgency of buſineſs, or the ſlighteſt pretexts, afford them an opportunity of violating every day [r]. There are, however, many occaſions on which they may leave their retirement. Private ceremonies, to which no men have acceſs, often aſſemble them among themſelves [s]; and in public feſtivals they are preſent at the ſpectacles as well as the ceremonies of the temple. But in general they are not to appear unleſs attended by eunuchs [t], or female ſlaves who belong to them, or are occaſionally hired in order to enlarge their retinue [u]. If their dreſs or carriage be not decent, magiſtrates, appointed to watch over them, impoſe on them a heavy penalty, and inſcribe their ſentence on a tablet, which they ſuſpend on one of the plane trees of the public walk [x].

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l Xenoph. Memor. p. 847. Lyſ. de Cæde Eratoſth. p. 8. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 557. Alex. ibid. p. 568. Etymol. Magn. in Ἐψιμ.

m Simon. ap. Stob. ſerm. 71. p. 436.

n Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 2. v. 88. Heſych. in Θάψ. Salm. in Plin. p. 1163.

o Lyſ. in Simon. p. 72. Xenoph. ibid. Alex. ap. Athen. ib.

p Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90.

q Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 383.

r Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 157 et 160.

s Ariſtoph. Lyſiſt. v. 1. Schol. ibid.

t Terent. in Eunuch. act. 1. ſcen. 2. v. 87.

u Theophr. Charact. cap. 22. Caſaub. ibid.

x Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 112. Not. Jung. ibid.

But they are ſometimes indemnified for the reſtraint in which they live, by teſtimonials of a different nature. I one day met the young Leucippe, whoſe budding and hitherto unknown charms ſhone through a veil, lifted up at intervals by the wind. She was returning from the temple of Ceres, with her mother and ſome ſlaves. The young Athenians, who eagerly followed her ſteps, could only obtain a momentary glimpſe of her; yet the next day I read on the door of her houſe, at the corner of the ſtreets, on the bark of trees, and in the moſt public places, theſe words written by different hands: "Leucippe is beautiful; nothing is ſo beautiful as Leucippe [y]."

The Athenians were formerly ſo jealous, that they would not permit their women to ſhow themſelves at the window [z]. They have ſince diſcovered that this exceſſive ſeverity only ſerved to haſten the evil they were ſo anxious to prevent [a]. Still, however, they are not permitted to be viſited by men in the abſence of their huſbands [b]; and, ſhould a huſband ſurpriſe his rival in the act of diſhonouring him, he may put him to death [c], or oblige him by torments to ranſom his life [d]: but if the wife has only yielded to force, he can demand no more than a pecuniary fine at the diſcretion of the judges. It has been thought, with reaſon, that violence, on ſuch occaſions, is leſs to be dreaded than ſeduction [e].

The firſt publication of an infidelity of this nature is not the only puniſhment reſerved for the guilty and convicted wife. She is inſtantly repudiated; the laws exclude her for ever from all religious ceremonies [f]; and ſhould ſhe venture to appear in a ſtudied dreſs, every one has a right to ſtrip

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[y] Euripid. ap. Euſtath. in lib. ζ. Iliad. t. ii. p. 632. Callim. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 144. Kuſter. ibid. Suid. in Καλ.

[z] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph. v. 792 et 804.

[a] Menand. ap. Stob. ſerm. 72. p. 440.

[b] Demoſth. in Everg. p. 1057 et 1060.

[c] Lyſ. pro Cæd. Eratoſth. p. 15.

[d] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 168. Schol. ib.

[e] Lyſ. pro Cæd. Eratoſth. p. 18.

[f] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 875.

her of her ornaments, to tear her clothes, and load her with opprobrious expreſſions [g].

A huſband, obliged to repudiate his wife, muſt firſt addreſs himſelf to a tribunal in which one of the chief magiſtrates preſides [h]. The ſame tribunal receives the complaints of wives who ſeek to be divorced from their huſbands. There was it that, after long conflicts between jealouſy and love, the wife of Alcibiades, the virtuous and too ſenſible Hipparete, appeared. While, with a trembling hand, ſhe was preſenting the memorial, ſetting forth her grievances, Alcibiades ſuddenly arrived, and, taking her under his arm, without the leaſt reſiſtance on her part, croſſed the forum with her, amidſt the general applauſes of the people, and led her back quietly to his houſe [i]. The irregularities of this Athenian were ſo public, that this action of Hipparete neither injured the reputation of her huſband, nor her own. But, in general, women of a certain condition dare not apply for a divorce; and, whether it be from weakneſs or from pride, the greater part of them rather chooſe to ſubmit to unworthy treatment in private, than free themſelves by an open rupture that muſt expoſe their huſbands or themſelves to ſhame [k]. It is unneceſſary to add, that a divorce leaves the parties at liberty to contract a new marriage.

The rigour of the laws, however, cannot extinguiſh in the heart, the natural deſire of pleaſing, which the precautions of jealouſy ſerve only to enflame. The Athenian women, removed from all public affairs by the conſtitution of the government, and ſtrongly incited to voluptuouſneſs by the influence of the climate, often know no ambition but that of being beloved, no care but that of dreſs, and no virtue but the apprehenſion of a ſtain upon their honour. As they are generally extremely careful to conceal themſelves

[g] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 289.
[h] Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 457 et 459.
[i] Andoc. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.
[k] Euripid. in Med. v. 236.

beneath the veil of myſtery, few of them have become famous for their gallantries.

This celebrity is reſerved for the courteſans. The laws protect theſe women as a corrective poſſibly of more odious vices [l]; and the public manners are not ſufficiently alarmed at the outrages they receive from them; nay, the abuſe is carried to ſuch a height, as openly to wound both reaſon and decorum. A married woman ſeems only deſtined to ſuperintend domeſtic affairs, and to perpetuate the name of a family, by giving children to the republic [m]. Young men at their firſt entrance into the world, men of a more advanced period of life, magiſtrates, philoſophers, almoſt all perſons poſſeſſed of a tolerable income, reſerve their complaiſance for their kept miſtreſſes, with whom they paſs part of the day, and who ſometimes bring them children, whom they adopt, and incorporate with their legitimate offspring [n].

Some of theſe women, brought up in the art of ſeduction by females, who add the force of example to their inſtructions [o], vie with each other in endeavours to ſurpaſs their models. The charms of beauty and of youth, the graces of their perſon, elegance of dreſs, muſic, dancing, and every pleaſing and polite accompliſhment, a cultivated mind, happy witticiſms, and the artifice of language and of ſentiment [p], all are employed by them to captivate and retain their admirers; and ſuch faſcination is there in theſe allurements, that thoſe they have enſnared frequently diſſipate on theſe ſyrens their fortune, and ſacrifice their honour, until, abandoned for ſome freſh victim, they are left to drag out the remainder of their lives in ignominy and regret.

Notwithſtanding the power theſe courteſans poſſeſs over their votaries, they muſt not ſhow themſelves in the ſtreets

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[l] Athen. lib. 13. p. 569.
[m] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 881.
[n] Athen. lib. 13. p. 576 et 577. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 141.
[o] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 568. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 863.
[p] Athen. lib. 13. p. 577, 583, &c.

with rich trinkets or jewels [q]; nor dare men in office appear with them in public [r].

Beſides the danger which young perſons are expoſed to from theſe women, they frequently have but too much reaſon to regret the time they miſpend in certain deſtructive houſes, the haunts of gameſters, and where great wagers are often made at cock-fights [s]. They have ſtill further to dread even the conſequences of that inſtitution which formed part of their education, and the ſpirit of which they miſapply. Scarcely have they left the gymnaſium, before, animated with the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the chariot and and horſe races that are exhibited at Athens, and in the other Grecian cities, they abandon themſelves, without reſerve, to all theſe exerciſes. They ſet up rich equipages, and maintain an immoderate number of dogs and horſes [t]; expences which, added to the oſtentation of their dreſs, ſoon totally diſſipate the inheritance they have received from their anceſtors [u].

In general, every perſon walks on foot at Athens, whether in the city or the environs. The rich ſometimes make uſe of chariots and litters, the perpetual objects of the cenſure and envy of their fellow-citizens [x]; ſometimes they are followed by a ſervant, carrying a folding-chair, that they may ſit down in the forum [y], and as often as they are fatigued with walking [z]. The men almoſt always appear with a cane [a]; the women very often with an umbrella. At night, they are lighted by a ſlave, who carries a flambeau, ornamented with different colours [b].

[q] Terent. in Eunuch. act. 4. ſcen. 1. v. 13. Meurſ. Them. Att. lib. 1. cap. 6.

[r] Terent. ibid. act. 3. ſcen. 2. v. 42.

[s] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 335. Æſchin. in Tim. p. 268.

[t] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 196. Terent. in Andr. act. 1. ſcen. 1. v. 28.

[u] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 13

[x] Dem. in Mid. p. 628. Id. in Phænip. p. 1025. Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 177.

[y] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1381. Heſy. in Ὀκλαδίας.

[z] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 310. Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 74.

[a] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1345. Schol. ibid. Poll. lib. 7. §. 174.

[b] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 614. Id. in Lyſiſtr. v. 1219. Schol. in Veſp. v. 1364.

For a few of the firſt days after my arrival, I amuſed myſelf with examining the bills ſtuck up over the doors of the houſes. On ſome of them I read, A HOUSE TO SELL [c]; A HOUSE TO LET. On others, THIS IS THE HOUSE OF SUCH A ONE, LET NOTHING EVIL ENTER [d]. I did not gratify this little curioſity for nothing; for, in the principal ſtreets, the paſſenger is continually puſhed, ſqueezed, and crowded by a multitude of people on foot and on horſeback, by carters [e], water-carriers [f], criers of edicts [g], beggars [h], and labourers. One day, whilſt I was with Diogenes, looking at ſome little dogs trained to perform a number of tricks [i], one of theſe labourers paſſing along, carrying a great beam, gave him a violent blow with it, and then cried out: "Take care."—"What," ſaid Diogenes, "are you going to ſtrike me a ſecond time [k]?"

Perſons not attended at night by ſervants are in danger of being robbed [l], notwithſtanding the vigilance of the magiſtrates, who are obliged to take their nightly rounds [m]. The city maintains a guard of Scythians [n], to be in readineſs to aſſiſt the magiſtrates, to carry the judgments of the courts of juſtice into execution, and to preſerve good order in the general aſſemblies, and at public ceremonies [o]. They pronounce the Greek in ſo barbarous a manner, as to be ſometimes ridiculed on the ſtage [p], and are ſo fond of wine, as to render the expreſſion, "to drink like a Scythian [q]," proverbial for drinking to exceſs.

The people are naturally abſtemious. Their chief food conſiſts of ſalt meat and vegetables. Such as are unable to

[c] Laert. in Diog. lib. 6. § 47.
[d] Id. ibid. § 39. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. p. 843.
[e] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 192.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 17.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1038.
[h] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 353 et 354.
[i] Xenoph. de Admin. Domeſt. p. 855.
[k] Laert. lib. 6. § 41.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v 664.
[m] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 650.
[n] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 54. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Τοξότ. Meurſ. Ceram. Gem. cap. 16. Jungerm. in Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 132.
[o] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 434.
[p] Id. in Theſmoph. v. 1016 Schol. ibid. Demetr. de Elocut. § 96.
[q] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 84. Ariſtot. Problem. ſect. 3. t. ii. p. 695. Athen. lib. 10. cap. 7. p. 27.

maintain themſelves, either in conſequence of wounds they have received in war, or becauſe their misfortunes have rendered them incapable of working, are paid daily from the public treaſury one or two oboli [r], granted them by the aſſembly of the nation. The liſt of perſons who are the objects of this benefaction, is from time to time examined in the ſenate, and the names of thoſe who are no longer entitled to receive it, ſtruck off [s]. The neceſſities of the poor are relieved likewiſe by other means. Every new moon, the rich expoſe proviſions in certain public places, in honour of the goddeſs Hecate, which are left to the diſpoſal of the populace [t].

I had taken an exact account of the price of the different articles of proviſion; but this I have loſt. I can only recollect that the uſual price of corn [u] was five drachmas the medimnus *. The beſt ox [x] was worth about eighty drachmas †; a ſheep, the fifth part of the value of an ox [y], or about ſixteen drachmas ‡; a lamb, ten drachmas § [z].

It will naturally be imagined, that theſe prices increaſe in times of dearth. The medimnus of wheat has been known to riſe from five drachmas, its ordinary value, to ſixteen drachmas; and that of barley as high as eighteen [a]. Independent of theſe tranſient cauſes, it was obſerved, during my ſtay at Athens, that for about the laſt ſeventy years, the price of every article had been continually riſing, and that wheat, in particular, was then dearer by two fifths than during the Peloponneſian war [b].

[r] Lyſ. adv. Delat. p. 414 et 416. Ariſtid. in Panathen. t. i. p. 331. Heſych. et Harpocr. in 'Αβόλ.

[s] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 276.

[t] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 594. Schol. ibid. Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1114.

[u] Demoſth. adv. Phorm. p. 940.

* 4 livres 10 ſols (or three ſhillings and ninepence). Reckoning the drachma at 18 ſols (or ninepence), and the medimnus at ſomething above 4 buſhels (Goguet, Orig. des Lois, t. iii. p. 260), our ſeptier (a French meaſure of 12 buſhels) of corn would have been worth about 13 of our livres (or 10 ſhillings and tenpence Engliſh).

[x] Marmor. Sandwic. p. 35.

† 72 livres (or 3l. Sterling.)

[y] Demetr. Phaler. ap. Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

‡ About 14 livres 8 ſols (or 12s.)

§ 9 livres (or 7s. and 6d. See note at the end of the volume.

[z] Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 4. p. 146; et lib. 8. p. 364.

[a] Demoſth. adv. Phorm. p. 946. Id. adv. Phænip. p. 1025.

[b] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 380 et 543.

We do not here meet with ſuch ſplendid fortunes as in Perſia; and when I ſpeak of the opulence and oſtentation of the Athenians, it is only relatively to the other ſtates of Greece. A ſmall number of families, however, have enriched themſelves by commerce, and ſome by ſilver mines they poſſeſs at Laurium. The other citizens eſteem themſelves maſters of a decent fortune, when they have eſtates to the value of fifteen or twenty talents *, and are able to give their daughters a marriage portion of a hundred minæ [c] †.

Though the Athenians have the intolerable fault of lending an ear to calumny, without a proper inquiry into facts [d], they are malignant only from frivolouſneſs; and it is a common remark, that, when good, they are better than the other Greeks, becauſe their goodneſs is not a virtue of education [e].

The common people are more rude and noiſy here than perhaps any where elſe; but among the firſt claſs of citizens we ſee that decorum that impreſſes us with the idea that a man has a proper eſteem for himſelf, and that politeneſs which has the appearance of eſteem for others, univerſally prevail. Good company requires a propriety of language and behaviour [f]. It requires that thoſe marks of reſpect, by which men are prepoſſeſſed in favour of each other, ſhould be properly adapted to times and perſons [g]; and conſiders an affected or precipitate carriage, as a mark of vanity or levity [h]; and a blunt, ſententious, or too lofty tone, as a proof of bad education or ruſticity [i]. All peeviſh whims [k], overſtrained

* The talent was worth 5400 livres (or 225l. Sterling).

[c] Demoſth. in Steph. 1. p. 978.

† 9000 livres (or 375 l. Sterling). See note at the end of the volume.

[d] Plut. Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 799.

[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 642.

[f] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 448. Theophr. Charact. c. 4.

[g] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 54. Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 325.

[h] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 995.

[i] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 995. Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 572. Theophr. Charact. cap. 2.

[k] Theophr. Charact. cap. 13. 15 et 17.

officiouſneſs, diſdainful airs, and ſtudied ſingularities, are likewiſe condemned by the laws of good company.

The ſame laws require a certain facility of manners, equally removed from that crouching complaiſance that approves every thing, and that ill-humoured auſterity which nothing can pleaſe [l]. But what diſtinguiſhes good company moſt, is a delicate and light pleaſantry [m], which unites decency with freedom; which we muſt pardon in others, and ſecure pardon for in ourſelves; which few people know how to employ, and fewer ſtill are able to underſtand. It conſiſts——No, I will ſay no more. Thoſe who know what it is will underſtand me, and it would be impoſſible to explain myſelf to others. It is characterized at preſent by the name of addreſs and dexterity, becauſe wit ſhould never ſparkle but in favour of others, and becauſe, in its moſt brilliant ſtrokes, its object ſhould always be to pleaſe, and not to offend [n]. Yet is it often confounded with ſatire, coarſe humour, or buffoonery [o]; for each ſociety has its particular tone. That of good company has been almoſt entirely formed in our own times; as a proof of which, we need only compare the ancient dramatic pieces with the modern. Scarcely half a century has elapſed ſince comedies were filled with indelicate expreſſions, and diſguſting obſcenities, which at this day would not be endured for a moment [p].

In Athens there are ſeveral ſocieties, the members of which enter into a mutual engagement to aſſiſt each other. If a judicial proſecution be commenced againſt any one of them, or if he be attacked by his creditors, he has inſtant recourſe to the ſuccour of his aſſociates. In the firſt caſe, they accompany him to his trial, and ſerve, ſhould it be neceſſary, as advocates or witneſſes [q]; in the ſecond, they advance the ſum

[l] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 54. Id. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 552.
[m] Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap 31. t. ii. p. 164. Id. Rhet. p. 552
[n] Ariſt. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 56.
[o] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 336.
[p] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 56.
[q] Lyſ. Delat. in Obtrect. p. 159.

neceſſary to extricate him from his difficulties, without requiring any intereſt for it, and preſcribe no other time for the repayment of the loan, than the re-eſtabliſhment of his fortune or his credit [r]. If he afterwards fails in his engagements, when able to fulfil them, he is not indeed liable to a proſecution, but his honour is loſt [s]. They ſometimes meet, and cement their friendly union at entertainments, in which good humour and innocent freedom ſhine conſpicuous [t]. Theſe aſſociations, originally founded on noble and generous motives, are at preſent maintained only from unjuſt and intereſted views. The rich man, at their meetings, mixes in company with the poor, to induce them to perjure themſelves in his favour [u]; and the poor man ſeeks the ſociety of the rich, in order to acquire ſome claim to their protection.

Among the various ſocieties of Athens, there is one whoſe only object is to obſerve and collect every ſpecies of ridiculous abſurdity, and to divert itſelf with pleaſantries and bons-mots. The members of it, to the number of ſixty, are all men of extraordinary vivacity and brilliant wit: their meetings are held from time to time in the temple of Hercules, where they pronounce their humorous decrees, in preſence of a crowd of ſpectators, drawn thither by the ſingularity of the ſcene; nor have the misfortunes of the ſtate ever induced them to intermit their meetings [x].

Two extremes of folly, among others, multiply the decrees of this tribunal. Some perſons here endeavour to ſurpaſs even Attic elegance, whilſt others ſeem to ſtrive to outdo even Spartan ſimplicity. The former take eſpecial care to have a ſmooth chin, frequently to change their dreſs, to diſplay the poliſhed enamel of their teeth, and to load themſelves with perfumes [y]. They wear flowers at their ears [z],

[r] Theophr. Charact. cap. 15 et 17. Cauſab. in Theophr. cap. 15. Pet. in Leg Att. p. 429.

[s] Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. lib 6. cap. 3. p. 414.

[t] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 468. Duport. in Theophr. cap. 10. p. 351.

[u] Demoſth. ap. Harpocr. in Ἐραν.

[x] Athen. lib. 14. p. 614.

[y] Theophr. Charact. cap. 5.

[z] Cratin. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 553

carry twiſted canes in their hands [a], and wear *Alcibiades's ſhoes*, a kind of ſhoes, the firſt idea of which was given by Alcibiades, and which are ſtill in faſhion among young people attentive to their dreſs [b]. The latter affect the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and are frequently charged with the *Laconomania* [c]. Their hair hangs in diſorder over their ſhoulders; they diſtinguiſh themſelves by a coarſe cloak, plain ſandals, a long beard, a huge ſtaff, a ſolemn gait [d], and, if I may venture ſo to ſpeak, by all the inſignia of modeſty. The ſingularities of the firſt, calculated only to attract attention, are leſs offenſive than thoſe of the ſecond claſs, who make a direct attack on our eſteem. I have ſeen this pretended ſimplicity [e] treated as inſolence by men of ſenſe, and they were in the right: every excluſive pretenſion is an uſurpation; for ſuch pretenſions evidently encroach upon the claims of others.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Religion, of the Prieſts and ſacred Miniſters, and of the principal Offences againſt Religion.

I HERE only mean to ſpeak of the eſtabliſhed religion. I ſhall, in another place, give the opinions of philoſophers on the ſubject of the Deity.

The public worſhip is founded on this law: "Honour in public and in private the gods and heroes of the country. Let every one annually offer up, according to its abilities, and the cuſtomary rites, the firſt fruits of his harveſts [f]."

From the earlieſt times the objects of religious worſhip have multiplied among the Athenians. They received the

[a] Theophr. ibid.
[b] Athen. lib. 12. p. 534.
[c] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1281. Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Demoſth. adv. Conon p. 1113.
[d] Demoſth. ibid. Plut. in Phoc p. 746.
[e] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 56.
[f] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4. § 22. p. 380.

twelve principal divinities [g] from the Egyptians [h], and others from the Libyans and different nations [i]. In proceſs of time, a law was enacted, prohibiting, under pain of death, the introduction of any foreign worſhip, without a decree of the Areopagus, moved for by the public orators [k]. Within the laſt century, this tribunal becoming leſs ſcrupulous, the gods of Thrace, of Phrygia, and ſome other barbarous people, have made an irruption into Attica [l], and triumphantly maintained their ground, in deſpite of the pleaſantries with which the theatre rings againſt theſe ſtrange deities, and the nocturnal ceremonies celebrated in their honour [m].

It was a ſublime inſtitution of ancient times, to conſecrate by monuments and feſtivals the memory of kings and individuals who had rendered eſſential ſervices to mankind. Such is the origin of the profound veneration paid to heroes. In the number of theſe, the Athenians place Theſeus, the firſt author of their liberty; Erechtheus, one of their ancient kings [n]; thoſe who merited to give their name to the ten tribes [o]; and others again, among whom we muſt diſtinguiſh Hercules, who is indiſcriminately ranked in the claſs of gods and in that of heroes [p].

The worſhip of the latter differs eſſentially from that of the gods, as well in the object as in the ceremonies. The Greeks proſtrate themſelves before the divinity, to acknowledge their dependence, to implore his protection, or thank him for his bounties. They conſecrate temples, altars, and groves, and celebrate feſtivals and games, in honour of the heroes [q], to perpetuate their glory, and recal the memory of their illuſ-

[g] Pind. Olymp. 10. v. 59. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 95. Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 54.

[h] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 4.

[i] Id. lib. 2. cap. 50; et lib. 4. cap. 88.

[k] Joſeph. in Appion. lib 2. p. 491 et 493. Harpocrat. in Ἐπῶδίν.

[l] Plat. de Rep lib. 1. t. i. p. 327 et 354. Demoſth. de Cor. p. 516 Strab. lib. 10. p. 471. Heſych. in Θεοὶ ξενικ.

[m] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 9. Dyſiſt. v. 389, &c. Cicer de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 15. t. iii. p. 149.

[n] Meurſ. de Regib. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 12.

[o] Pauſan. lib 1. cap. 5. p 13.

[p] Herodot lib. 2. cap 44 Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 37; lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 133.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 11.

trious deeds. Incenſe is burnt on their altars, at the ſame time that libations are poured over their tombs, to procure repoſe to their manes. The ſacrifices with which they are honoured by their votaries, therefore, are, properly ſpeaking, addreſſed only to the infernal gods.

Secret doctrines are taught in the myſteries of Eleuſis, and in thoſe of Bacchus, and other divinities. But the reigning religion is totally external. It holds out no body of doctrine, no public inſtruction, no rigorous injunction to participate, on ſtated days, in the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The only faith required is to ſeem perſuaded that the gods exiſt, and reward virtue, either in this life or in that to come: the only practice, to perform at intervals ſome religious acts, ſuch as appearing in the temple at the ſolemn feſtivals, and ſacrificing on the public altars [r].

The religion of the common people entirely conſiſts in prayers, ſacrifices, and purifications.

Individuals addreſs their prayers to the gods at the beginning of any undertaking [s]. Theſe they offer up in the morning, the evening, and at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun and moon [t]. Sometimes they repair to the temple, with downcaſt eyes and a ſerious deportment [u], and preſent themſelves as ſuppliants. There is not a mark of reſpect, of fear or flattery, that courtiers ſhow to ſovereigns on approaching the throne, but are teſtified by men toward the gods on coming near their altars. They kiſs the ground [x]; they pray ſtanding [y], on their knees [z], proſtrate [a], and holding branches in their hands [b], which they elevate towards heaven, or ſtretch out towards the ſtatue of the god, after applying it to their mouths [c]. If the worſhip be directed to the infernal deities,

[r] Xenoph. Apol. Socrat. p. 703.
[s] Plat. in Tim. t. iii p. 27.
[t] Id. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 887.
[u] Id. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 138.
[x] Potter. Archæolog lib. 2. cap 5.
[y] Philoſtr. in Apollon. Vit. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 233.
[z] Theophr. Charact cap. 16.
[a] Laert in Diogen. lib. 6. § 37.
[b] Sophocl. in Œdip. Tyr. v. 3. Schol. ibid.
[c] Lucian. in encom. Demoſth. § 49. t. iii. p. 526.

they fail not, in order to attract their attention, to ſtrike the earth with their feet or hands [d].

Some pronounce their prayers in a low voice. Pythagoras wiſhed them to be ſaid aloud, that nothing might be aſked which could excite a bluſh [e]. And in fact, what rule can be more excellent than that we ſhould hold converſe with the gods as if in preſence of men, and with men, as if in the preſence of the gods?

At public ſolemnities, the Athenians prefer in common their vows for the proſperity of the ſtate, and of their allies [f]; ſometimes for the preſervation of the fruits of the earth, and the return of rain, or of fine weather; ſometimes to be delivered from peſtilence and famine [g].

The religious ceremonies of the Athenians frequently afford a beautiful and moſt awful ſpectacle. The ſpace before the temple, and the porticos that ſurround it, are full of people. The prieſts advance under the veſtibule near the altar. After the officiating prieſt has ſaid, in a ſonorous voice, "Let us make libations, and let us pray [h]," one of the ſubordinate miniſters, in order to obtain from the congregation a declaration of their devout diſpoſitions, demands: "Who are they who compoſe this aſſembly?" "Honeſt people," reply they, all in concert. "Be ſilent then," adds he. Prayers adapted to the occaſion are then recited, and preſently the ſacred hymns are chanted by choruſes of youths. Their voices are ſo harmonious, and ſo well ſeconded by the art of the poet, attentive to ſelect moving ſubjects, as to draw tears from the greater part of the audience [i]. But the religious muſic is in general lively, and more proper to inſpire joy than ſorrow. Such is the impreſſion made on us at the feſtivals of Bacchus, when

[d] Homer. Iliad. 9. v. 564. Schol. ibid. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 297.
[e] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 641.
[f] Theopomp. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 881. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 44.
[g] Eurip. in Supplic. v. 28. Procl. in Tim. lib. 2. p. 65. Thom. Gale. not. in Jamblic. Myſter. p. 283.
[h] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 434 et 965.
[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 800.

after one of the miniſters has ſaid aloud, "Invoke the god;" every perſon immediately joins in a hymn beginning with theſe words: "O ſon of Semele[k]! O Bacchus, diſpenſer of riches!"

Individuals weary heaven by ridiculous prayers, perſecuting the gods to grant them every thing that may contribute to their ambition or their pleaſures. Theſe prayers are conſidered as blaſphemy by ſome philoſophers[l], who, perſuaded that men are not capable of diſcerning what is really for their advantage, would wiſh them to place their ſole reliance on the bounty of the gods, or, at leaſt, never to addreſs them but in that kind of formularly handed down to us in the writings of an ancient poet: "O! thou who art the king of heaven, grant us what is uſeful to us, whether we aſk it, or whether we aſk it not! Refuſe us what would be hurtful to us, even ſhould we aſk it[m]!"

Formerly ſacrifices to the gods were confined to the fruits of the earth[n], and we ſtill ſee in Greece ſeveral altars on which it is forbidden to immolate any victims[o]. Bloody ſacrifices were with difficulty introduced. Man felt a natural horror at plunging the ſteel into the breaſt of an animal deſtined to the plough, and become the companion of his labours[p]: it was prohibited under pain of death[q] by an expreſs law; and univerſal practice induced him to abſtain from the fleſh of animals[r]. The reſpect long entertained for ancient traditions, is evinced by a ceremony repeated every year.

At a feſtival conſecrated to Jupiter, offerings are placed on an altar, near to which ſeveral oxen are made to paſs, and the ox that touches theſe offerings is to be the deſtined victim.

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[k] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 482.
[l] Plat. in Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 149.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 143.
[n] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 6. &c.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62. Id. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600; cap. 42. p. 688.
[p] Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. lib. 5. cap. 14.
[q] Var. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 2. cap. 5.
[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782.

Water is then brought in vaſes by young damſels; and the miniſters of the god bear the inſtrument of ſacrifice. Scarcely has the ſlaughterer ſtruck the blow before he drops the axe and takes to flight. Mean while his companions taſte of the victim, ſow up the hide, ſtuff it with hay, faſten this ſhapeleſs figure to a plough, and then go to juſtify themſelves before judges, to whoſe tribunal they are ſummoned. The girls who have furniſhed the water to ſharpen the inſtruments, throw the blame on thoſe who have actually whetted them; the latter, on the perſons who have ſlaughtered the victim; and theſe again, on the inſtruments, which are condemned as the perpetrators of the murder, and caſt into the ſea [s].

This myſterious ceremony is of the higheſt antiquity, and perpetuates the memory of an event that occurred in the time of Erechtheus. A huſband man having placed his offering on the altar, killed an ox which had devoured part of it. He fled, and a criminal proſecution was inſtituted againſt the axe [t].

When the fruits of the earth were the only food of men, care was taken to reſerve a certain portion for the gods. The ſame practice was continued when they began to feed upon the fleſh of animals; and hence poſſibly the origin of ſanguinary ſacrifices, which, in fact, are only repaſts offered to the gods, and of which thoſe who are preſent are invited to partake.

An acquaintance with a multitude of practices and ceremonies conſtitutes all the ſcience of the prieſts. Sometimes water is to be poured on the altar or the head of the victims; ſometimes honey or oil [u]. But in general they are ſprinkled with wine; and then the wood of the fig-tree, the myrtle, or the vine, are burnt upon the altar [x]. Nor is leſs attention neceſſary in the choice of the victim, which muſt be without

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 57. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 3. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 29. p. 154.

[t] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 28. p. 70.

[u] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 20 p. 138.

[x] Suid. in Νηφαλ.

a blemiſh, and have no defect or diſorder [y]. All animals likewiſe are not equally proper for ſacrifice. At firſt, none were offered up but ſuch as ſerved for food, as the ox, the ſheep, the goat, the hog, &c. [z]. Afterward horſes were ſacrificed to the ſun, ſtags to Diana, and dogs to Hecate. Each country, each temple, has its particular uſages. The averſion and prediſection of the gods are equally fatal to the animals conſecrated to their worſhip.

But why ſhould a cake, made with barley-meal and ſalt [a], be placed on the head of the victim? Why ſhould the hair be plucked from its forehead, and thrown into the fire [b]? Why ſhould the thighs be burned with cloven wood [c]?

When I preſſed the miniſters of the temples to explain to me theſe rites, they gave me the ſame anſwer as a prieſt of Thebes, of whom I had inquired why the Bœotians offered eels to the gods. "We obſerve," ſaid he, "the cuſtoms of our forefathers, without thinking ourſelves obliged to give a reaſon for them to every ſtranger [d]."

The victim is ſhared between the gods, the prieſts, and thoſe who have preſented it. The portion of the deities is conſumed by fire; that of the prieſts conſtitutes part of their revenue, and the third ſerves as a pretext to the perſons who receive it, to give an entertainment to their friends [e]. Some there are who, wiſhing to make a parade of their opulence, ſtrive to diſtinguiſh themſelves by pompous ſacrifices. I have ſeen individuals who, after immolating an ox, decorated the fore part of its head with flowers and ribbons, and had it ſuſpended at their doors [f]. As the ſacrifice of the ox is in the higheſt eſtimation, little cakes in the ſhape of that animal are

[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 66. Schol. ibid. Ariſtot. ap. Athen. lib 15. cap. 5. p. 674. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 437.

[z] Suid. in Θύειν. Homer. Iliad. et Odyſſ. paſſim.

[a] Serv. ad. Virgil. Æneid. lib. 2. v. 133.

[b] Homer Odyſſ lib. 3. v. 446. Euripp. in Electr. v. 810.

[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 462.

[d] Athen. lib. 7. cap. 13. 297.

[e] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 745.

[f] Theophr. Charact. cap. 21.

made for the poor; and the priests are obliged to content themselves with this offering [g].

So imperious is the sway with which superstition rules the mind, that it renders even the mildest people on earth ferocious. Human sacrifices were formerly not unfrequent among the Greeks [h]. They were common in almost every nation, and in some the practice is continued to this day [i]; but it is impossible that it should long subsist, for absurd and useless cruelties must sooner or later yield to nature and to reason. The blind confidence which man places in the external acts of religion, has established a more lasting empire. The unjust, nay, the worst of villains, dare to flatter themselves with the hopes of corrupting the gods by presents, and of deceiving them by the outward show of piety [k]. In vain do philosophers declaim against so dangerous an error, which will ever be cherished by the bulk of mankind, because it will always be easier to furnish victims than to be virtuous.

The Athenians once complained to the oracle of Ammon, that the gods had declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, who offered to them only a small number of victims, and those meagre and mutilated. The oracle replied, that not all the sacrifices of the Greeks were equal in worth to the humble and modest prayer in which the Lacedæmonians are contented with asking the only real blessings of the gods [l]. This oracle of Jupiter reminds me of another which reflects no less honour on that of Apollo. A rich Thessalian being at Delphi, offered up, with all the parade of ostentation, an hundred oxen with gilded horns. At the same instant, a poor citizen of Hermione drawing a handful of flour from his wallet, threw it into the flame burning on the altar. The Pythia

g Suid. in Βοῦς. Ἔβδ.

h Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. t. i. p. 36. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 2. § 54. p. 197, &c.

i Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782.

k Id. ibid. lib. 10. p. 885, 905 et 906.

l Plat. Alcib. 2. t. ii. p. 148.

declared that this man's worſhip was more acceptable to the gods than that of the Theſſalian [m].

As water purifies the body, it was imagined from analogy capable alſo of purifying the ſoul; and this effect it was ſuppoſed to operate in two ways, either by freeing it from its pollutions, or by diſpoſing it to contract none. Hence two ſorts of luſtration, the one expiatory, the other preparatory. By the former, the clemency of the gods is implored; and by the latter, their aſſiſtance.

Care is taken to purify children immediately after their birth [n]; as alſo thoſe who enter the temples [o]; ſuch as have committed homicide, even though involuntary [p]; perſons afflicted with certain diſorders, conſidered as ſigns of the anger of heaven, ſuch as the plague [q], phrenzy [r], &c.; and all, in ſhort, who wiſh to render themſelves acceptable to the gods.

This ceremony has inſenſibly been applied to temples, altars, and all places ſuppoſed to be honoured by the preſence of the Deity; to cities, ſtreets, houſes, fields; to every place either profaned by crimes, or which it is wiſhed ſhould be particularly favoured by heaven [s].

Every year the city of Athens is purified, on the 6th of the month Thargelion [t]. As often as the anger of heaven is manifeſted againſt it by peſtilence or famine, a ceremony is had recourſe to, which is ſuppoſed to divert the calamity on a man and woman of the lower claſſes of the people, maintained by the ſtate, to become, when needful, expiatory victims, each in the name of their reſpective ſexes. Theſe are led in proceſſion through the ſtreets, to the ſound of inſtruments; and, after receiving a few ſtripes, are driven out of

[m] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 15. p. 126.
[n] Suid. et Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδρ.
[o] Euripid. in Ion. v. 95.
[p] Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. p. 736.
[q] Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 110.
[r] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 118. Schol. ibid.
[s] Lomey. de Luſtr.
[t] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 44.

the city. Formerly they were committed to the flames, and their aſhes ſcattered in the wind [u].

Though ſea water be the beſt ſuited to purifications [x], what is called luſtral water is generally uſed. This is common water, in which a burning firebrand, taken from the altar at the ſacrifice of a victim, has been dipped [y]. The veſſels that are in the veſtibules of the temples, in the places where the general aſſembly is held, and round the coffins in which dead bodies are expoſed to the ſight of paſſengers, are filled with this water [z].

As metals are purified by fire; as ſalt and nitre waſh away filth, and preſerve bodies, and ſmoke and agreeable odours are a ſecurity againſt the corruption of unwholeſome air, it has gradually been conceived that theſe and other expedients might be employed in the different luſtrations. Hence it is, that a ſecret virtue is aſcribed to the incenſe burnt in temples [a], and to the flowers uſed to crown thoſe who ſacrifice. Hence likewiſe is it that a houſe is ſuppoſed to recover its purity by the ſmoke of ſulphur, and by the ſprinkling of a water impregnated with a few grains of ſalt [b]. On certain occaſions, it is deemed ſufficient to turn round a fire [c], or to ſee a little dog, or other animal, paſs round their perſons [d]. In the luſtration of cities, the victims intended for ſacrifice are led along the walls [e].

The rites differ, according to the greater or leſs importance of the object, and the different degrees of ſuperſtition. Some hold it eſſential to plunge into a river; others, that it is only neceſſary ſeven times to immerſe the head: but in general they are contented with dipping their hands in luſtral water,

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[u] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 1133. Schol. ibid. Id. in Ran. v. 745. Schol. ibid. Hellad. ap. Phot. p. 1590. Meurſ. Græc. Fer. in Thargel.

[x] Eurip. Iph. in Taur. v. 1193. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 108.

[y] Eurip. Herc. Fur. v. 928. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 18. p. 409.

[z] Caſaub. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 16 p 126.

[a] Plaut. Amphitr. act. 2. ſcen. 2. v. 107.

[b] Theocr. idyl. 24. v. 94.

[c] Harpocr. in Ἀμφιδρ.

[d] Lomey. de Luſtr. cap. 23.

[e] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 5. p. 626.

or with having it ſprinkled over them by a prieſt, who is always in waiting for that purpoſe at the gate of the temple [f].

Each individual may offer ſacrifices on an altar placed at the door of his houſe, or in a private chapel [g]. There have I often ſeen a virtuous father, ſurrounded by his children, joining in the worſhip of the ſame god, and forming vows dictated by affection, and worthy of the attention of the divinity. The functions of this kind of prieſthood being limited to a ſingle family, it became neceſſary to appoint miniſters for public worſhip.

In no city are there ſo many prieſts and prieſteſſes to be found as at Athens, as there is alſo none where ſuch a number of temples are erected to the gods, or in which ſo many feſtivals are celebrated [h].

In the country towns of Attica, and every other part of Greece, a ſingle prieſt only is required to officiate in a temple. In conſiderable cities, the duties of the prieſthood are ſhared among ſeveral perſons, who form a ſort of community, at the head of which is the miniſter of the god, who ſometimes bears the title of high prieſt. Under him are the Neocoros, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſuperintend the decoration and cleanlineſs of the ſacred places [i], and to ſprinkle holy water on the perſons who viſit the temple [k]; ſacrificing prieſts, who ſlaughter the victims; ſoothſayers, who conſult the entrails; heralds, who adjuſt the ceremonies, and diſmiſs the aſſembly [l]. In ſome places, the name of father is beſtowed on the chief of the prieſts, and that of mother on the principal of the prieſteſſes [m].

Functions of inferior ſanctity, and relative to the ſervice of the temple, are intruſted to lay officers. Some are ap-

f Heſych. in Τόρνα. Lomey. de Luſtr. p. 120.
g Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 910.
h Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 700.
i Suid. in Νεωκ.
k Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 61.
l Pott. Archæolog. lib. 2. cap. 3.
m Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 411.

pointed to be guardians of the treaſury; and others to aſſiſt as witneſſes and inſpectors at ſolemn ſacrifices [n].

The prieſts officiate in rich veſtments, on which are inſcribed, in golden letters, the names of the benefactors to the temple [o]. This magnificence derives additional ſplendour from their perſonal beauty, their majeſtic deportment, the ſonorouſneſs of their voices, and, above all, from the attributes of the deity whoſe miniſters they are. Thus the prieſteſs of Ceres appears crowned with poppies and ears of corn [p]; the prieſteſs of Minerva, with the ægis, the cuiraſs, and a helmet creſted with tufts of feathers [q].

The prieſthood is in many inſtances annexed to ancient and powerful families, and tranſmitted from father to ſon [r].

In others it is conferred by the people [s]; but in no caſe can this office be filled without a previous examination both of the perſon and morals of the candidate. It is requiſite for the new prieſt to have no perſonal deformity [t], and that his conduct ſhould have been at all times irreproachable [u]. With reſpect to knowledge, it is enough if he is verſed in the ritual of the temple to which he is appointed; if he is able to perform the ceremonies with decency, and to diſcriminate between the different ſpecies of prayers and worſhip to be addreſſed to the gods [x].

Some temples are ſerved by prieſteſſes, as that of Bacchus in the quarter of the marſhes. They are fourteen in number, and appointed by the king-archon [y]. Strict continence is re-

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 759. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 423. Demoſth. adv. Mid. p. 630. Ulp. in Demoſth. p. 686. Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 276.

[o] Lib. in Demoſth. Orat. adv. Ariſtog. p. 843.

[p] Call. Hymn. in Cerer. v. 45. Spanh. ib. t. ii. p. 694. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 3. p. 134. Plut. in X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 843.

[q] Polyæn. lib. 8. cap. 59.

[r] Plat. de Leg. ibid. Plut. ibid. Heſych. Harpocr. et Suid. in Κυνίδ.

[s] Demoſth. Exord. Conc. p. 239.

[t] Etymol. Magn. in Ἀφτὰ.

[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 759. Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 263.

[x] Plat. Politic. t. ii. p. 290.

[y] Harpocr. Heſych. et Etymol. Magn. in Γεραὶ. Poll. lib. 8. § 108.

quired from them. The wife of this archon, ſtyled the queen, initiates them into the myſteries, of which they are the guardians, and obliges them, previous to being received, to take an oath, by which they ſolemnly affirm that they have always lived in the greateſt purity, and ſpotleſs from all intercourſe with man [z].

The revenues aſſigned for the maintenance of the prieſts and temples are derived from different ſources [a]. A tenth part of all penalties and confiſcations is always deducted for Minerva, and a fiftieth for the other deities [b]. A tenth of all the ſpoils taken from the enemy is likewiſe conſecrated to the gods [c]. In each temple, two officers, known by the name of Paraſites, have the right of exacting a meaſure of barley from the different landholders of the diſtrict [d]: in a word, there are few temples which do not poſſeſs houſes and eſtates [e].

Theſe revenues, to which may be added the offerings of individuals, are under the direction of the treaſurers of the temple [f]. They are employed for the reparation and decorations of the holy places, for the expences incurred by the ſacrifices, and for the ſupport of the prieſts, who almoſt all have ſalaries [g], are provided with lodging, and entitled to certain perquiſites from every victim. Some poſſeſs a more conſiderable revenue, as the prieſteſs of Minerva, to whom a meaſure of wheat, another of barley, and an obolus, muſt be preſented as often as any perſon dies, or a birth takes place in the family [h].

Beſides theſe advantages, the prieſts have an intereſt in maintaining the right of aſylum, granted not only to the temples, but to the ſacred groves in which they ſtand, and to

[z] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 873.

[a] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 66.

[b] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 791. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 449.

[c] Demoſth ibid. Sophocl. Trach. v. 186. Harpocr. in Δεκατ.

[d] Crates, ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 235.

[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. p. 759. Harpocr. in Ἀπὸ μιᾶς. Mauſſac. ibid. Taylor, in Marmor. Sand. p. 64. Chandler, Inſcrip. part 2. p. 75.

[f] Ariſtot. Politic. lib. 6. cap. 8. p. 423. Chandl. Inſcript. not. p. xv. &c.

[g] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 430.

[h] Ariſtot. Œcon. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502.

the houſes and chaples within their precincts [i]. A criminal cannot be torn from thence, nor even prevented from receiving his ſubſiſtence. This privilege, as offenſive to the gods as it is convenient to their miniſters, extends even to detached altars [k].

In Egypt the prieſts form the firſt claſs of the ſtate, without being obliged to contribute to its neceſſities, though the third part of the landed property be ſet apart for their maintenance. The purity of their manners, and the auſterity of their lives, ſecure them the confidence of the people; and their knowledge that of the ſovereign, whoſe council they compoſe, and who muſt be either taken from their body, or have become a member of it before he aſcends the throne [l]. Interpreters as they are of the will of the gods, and diſpoſers of that of men, excluſive guardians of the ſciences, and eſpecially of the ſecrets of medicine [m], the power they enjoy is boundleſs, ſince the prejudices and weakneſſes of men are under their abſolute direction.

Thoſe of Greece have obtained honours; ſuch as diſtinguiſhed places at the theatres [n]. All might, if they choſe, confine themſelves to the functions of their ſacred miniſtry, and ſpend their days in pleaſing indolence [o]; but many of them, anxious to merit by their zeal the reſpect due to their character, have filled the moſt important and burdenſome offices of the republic, and ſerved it in armies, and in embaſſies [p].

They form no ſeparate and independent body [q], nor is there any common intereſt between the miniſters of different tem-

i Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 128 et 134. Strab. lib. 8. p. 374. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 14.

k Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 126.

l Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 66. Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. t. ii. p. 354.

m Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 758. Laert. lib. 3. § 6.

n Chandl. Inſcrip. part 2. p. 73. Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 299.

o Iſocr. de Permut. t. ii. p. 410.

p Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 85. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 590. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 886.

q Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 72.

ples; and in cauſes which perſonally reſpect them they are amenable to the ordinary tribunals.

The nine archons, or ſupreme magiſtrates, watch over the public worſhip, and are always at the head of religious ceremonies. The office of the ſecond, known by the name of king, is to proſecute for all offences againſt religion, to preſide at the public ſacrifices, and decide all conteſts between the ſacerdotal families, on the ſubject of any vacant prieſthood [r]. The prieſts may indeed direct the ſacrifices of individuals; but if in theſe acts of piety they happen to tranſgreſs the eſtabliſhed laws, they cannot eſcape the vigilance of the magiſtrates. In our time we have ſeen the high prieſt of Ceres puniſhed, by order of government, for having violated theſe laws in articles apparently of no importance [s].

Next to the prieſts, we muſt place thoſe interpreters whoſe profeſſion is held in honour by the ſtate, and who are maintained by it in the prytaneum [t]. They read futurity in the flight of birds, and in the entrails of victims. They accompany the armies; and on their deciſion not unfrequently depend revolutions in governments, and the operations of a campaign. They are found in every part of Greece, but the moſt celebrated are thoſe of Elis. There, for many centuries paſt, two or three families have tranſmitted from father to ſon the art of predicting events, and of averting or ſuſpending the calamities incident to mortals. Sometimes their anſwers are offered to ſale to the beſt bidders [u].

The ſoothſayers extend their miniſtry ſtill farther, and take conſciences under their guidance. They are conſulted to know whether certain actions are or are not conformable to the divine law [x]. Some I have ſeen carry their fanaticiſm even to gloomy ſeverity, and who, eſteeming themſelves the

[r] Plat. in Politic. t. ii. p. 290. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. ſ. 90. Sigon.

[s] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 880.

[t] Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 1084. Schol. ibid.

[u] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 33. Pauſ. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 232; lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 317; lib. 6. cap. 2. p 454. Cicer. de Divinat. lib 1. cap. 41. t. iii. p. 34

[x] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 4.

guardians of the ſacred ordinances of heaven, would have proſecuted their father to death, were he guilty of a murder [y].

About two or three centuries ago, certain men appeared, who, without having received any authority from the government, ſet themſelves up as interpreters of the will of the gods, and cheriſhed among the people a credulity they either did, or affected to poſſeſs, wandering from country to country, menacing all nations with the wrath of heaven, inventing and teaching new rites to appeaſe it, and rendering men more weak and unhappy than they are, by diſſeminating terror and remorſe. Some owed their high reputation to impoſture, others to ſuperior knowledge and genius. Among the number of theſe were Abaris of Scythia, Empedocles of Agrigentum, and Epimenides of Crete [z].

The impreſſion they left in the minds of men has perpetuated the reign of ſuperſtition. The people imagine they diſcover manifeſt tokens of the will of the gods, at all times, and in all places; in eclipſes, in the noiſe of thunder, in the great phenomena of nature, and in the moſt fortuitous events. Dreams [a], the unexpected ſight of certain animals [b], a convulſive motion of the eyelids [c], a tingling of the ears [d], ſneezing [e], a few words caſually dropt, and a variety of the moſt indifferent natural effects, are become, in their idea, ſo many fortunate or inauſpicious omens. Do you find a ſerpent in your houſe? erect an altar on the very ſpot [f]. Do you ſee a kite hovering in the air? drop inſtantly upon your knees [g]. Is your imagination diſturbed by uneaſineſs or malady? it is Empuſa who has appeared to you; it is a phantom ſent by

[y] Id. ibid. p. 5.
[z] Laert. in Epim. lib. 1. § 109. Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. i. p. 357.
[a] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 63. Sophocl. Electr. v. 426
[b] Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.
[c] Theocr. Idyl. 3. v. 37.
[d] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 17.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 721.
[f] Theophr. ibid. Terent. in Phorm. act. 4. ſcen. 4.
[g] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 501.

Hecate, which aſſumes all ſorts of forms in order to torment the wretched [h].

In all theſe circumſtances recourſe is had to the ſoothſayers and interpreters [i]; and the remedies they preſcribe are as chimerical as the imaginary miſchiefs.

Some of theſe impoſtors inſinuate themſelves into opulent families, and avail themſelves of the prejudices of weak minds [k]. They pretend to poſſeſs infallible ſecrets to enchain the power of evil ſpirits. Their promiſes hold out likewiſe three advantages extremely alluring to the rich, and which conſiſt in fortifying them againſt remorſe, avenging them of their enemies, and enſuring the continuance of their happineſs beyond the grave. The prayers and expiations they practiſe on theſe occaſions are contained in ancient rituals, which bear the names of Orpheus and Muſæus [l].

Women of the dregs of the populace follow the ſame traffic [m], and go from houſe to houſe, among the poorer people, to diſtribute a kind of initiation, in which they ſprinkle water on the initiated, rub him with mud and bran, clothe him in the ſkin of an animal, and accompany theſe ceremonies with formularies read out of their ritual, and piercing ſhrieks that ſtrike terror and awe into the multitude.

Enlightened perſons, though exempt in general from theſe weakneſſes, are not the leſs attached to the other ceremonies of religion. After any fortunate event, in time of ſickneſs, or the ſmalleſt danger, at the recollection of a frightful dream, they fail not to offer ſacrifices, and often build chapels in their houſes, which have become ſo numerous, as to induce pious philoſophers to wiſh to ſee them all ſuppreſſed, and that individuals might offer up their vows to heaven only in the temples [n].

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[h] Id. in Ran. v. 295.
[i] Theophr. Charact. cap. 16.
[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 364.
[l] Id. ibid.
[m] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 516. Laert. lib. 10. § 4.
[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 909.

But how is it poſſible to reconcile the popular confidence in holy ceremonies with the ideas entertained of the ſovereign of the gods? For it is permitted to conſider Jupiter as an uſurper, who expelled his father from the throne of the univerſe, and is in his turn to be one day driven from it by his ſon. This doctrine, maintained by the ſect of the pretended diſciples of Orpheus [o], has been boldly adopted by Æſchylus, in a tragedy frequently repreſented and applauded under the ſanction of the government [p].

I have already obſerved that, within the laſt century, new gods have been introduced among the Athenians. I ſhould add that, within the ſame period, incredulity has made equal progreſs. No ſooner had the Greeks received the light of philoſophy, than ſome amongſt them, aſtoniſhed at the irregularities and deformities of nature, were not leſs ſo at perceiving it impoſſible to find a ſolution of them, in the ſhapeleſs ſyſtem of religion they had hitherto taken for their guide. Doubts ſucceeded to ignorance, and generated licentious opinions, embraced with avidity by youthful minds [q]: but their authors became objects of the public hatred. The people alleged that they had ſhaken off the yoke of religion only to abandon themſelves to their paſſions with leſs reſtraint [r]; and the government believed itſelf called upon to proceed with ſeverity againſt them. The following are the arguments urged in juſtification of this intolerance.

Public worſhip being preſcribed by one of the fundamental laws [s], and thence cloſely connected with the conſtitution, it is impoſſible to attack religion without endangering that conſtitution. * It is the duty therefore of the magiſtrates to maintain it, and to oppoſe all innovations viſibly tending to its deſtruction. They neither ſubject to cenſure the fabulous

[o] Procl. in Plat. l. 5. p. 291. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 265.
[p] Æſch. in Prom. v. 200, 755 et 947.
[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. p. 886.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4. p. 380.

hiſtories of the origin of the gods, nor philoſophical opinions concerning their nature, nor even indecent pleaſantries on the actions attributed to them by religion: but they proſecute and puniſh with death the men who ſpeak or write againſt their exiſtence; who contemptuouſly break their ſtatues; or thoſe, in fine, who violate the ſecret of the myſteries avowed and protected by the government.

Thus, while the external acts of piety are left to the regulation of the prieſts, and the magiſtrates poſſeſs the authority neceſſary to maintain religion, poets are left at liberty to frame new genealogies for the gods [t], and philoſophers to diſcuſs the moſt delicate queſtions concerning the eternity of matter, and the formation of the univerſe [u], provided that, in the proſecution of theſe ſubjects, they do but ſteer clear of the two following rocks: firſt, they muſt be careful not to approach too near the doctrine taught in the myſteries; and, ſecondly, not to advance, without modification, principles which would neceſſarily involve the downfal of a worſhip eſtabliſhed from time immemorial. In both theſe caſes, they are proſecuted as guilty of impiety.

This accuſation is the more formidable to innocence, as it has more than once been employed to ſerve the purpoſes of enmity and revenge, and eaſily enkindles the fury of a people, whoſe zeal is ſtill more cruel than that of their prieſts and magiſtrates.

Every citizen may ſtand forth as an accuſer, and lodge an information againſt the culprit before the ſecond of the archons [x], who carries the cauſe into the court of the heliaſtæ, one of the chief tribunals of Athens. Sometimes the charge is made in the aſſembly of the people [y]. When it reſpects the myſteries of Ceres, the ſenate takes cognizance of it, unleſs the accuſed chooſes to bring it before the Eumolpidæ [z];

[t] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 156. Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 2. p. 491.
[u] Plat. Ariſtot. &c.
[x] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 90.
[y] Andoc. de Myſt. p. 2. Plut. in Alcib. t i. p. 200.
[z] Demoſt. in. Androt. p. 703. Ulpian. p. 718.

for this ſacerdotal family, attached from the earlieſt ages to the temple of that goddeſs, ſtill retains a juriſdiction, confined in its exerciſe to the profanation of the myſteries, but which is remarkably ſevere. The proceedings of the Eumolpidæ are regulated by oral laws, of which they are the interpreters, and which deliver over the criminal not only to human puniſhment, but to the vengeance of the gods [a]. But he rarely expoſes himſelf to the rigour of this tribunal.

It has happened, that the accuſed has ſaved his life by declaring his accomplices; but he is ſtill rendered incapable of participating in ſacrifices, feſtivals, ſpectacles, and the privileges of the other citizens [b]. This mark of infamy is ſometimes accompanied with tremendous ceremonies. Theſe are imprecations which the prieſts of the different temples ſolemnly pronounce by order of the magiſtrates [c]. Turning towards the weſt, and ſhaking their purple robes, they devote to the infernal deities the criminal and his poſterity [d]. From that moment, the furies are ſuppoſed to take poſſeſſion of his heart, and never to relax their torments, but with the total extinction of his race.

The ſacerdotal family of the Eumolpidæ diſplay more zeal for the maintenance of the myſteries of Ceres, than is manifeſted by the other prieſts in favour of the eſtabliſhed religion. They have been ſometimes known to proſecute criminals before the courts of juſtice [e]; yet it muſt be admitted, to their commendation, that, on certain occaſions, far from ſeconding the fury of the people, ready to maſſacre on the ſpot individuals accuſed of having profaned the myſteries, they have inſiſted that they ſhould be tried and condemned according to the laws [f]. Among theſe laws, there is one, ſometimes carried into execution, and capable, doubtleſs, of checking

[a] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 108.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 115.
[c] Liv. lib. 31. cap. 44.
[d] Lyſ. in. Andoc. p. 129.
[e] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 15.
[f] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 130.

ing the fury and injuſtice of the moſt violent enmities, were it poſſible to reſtrain them. By this law, it is ordained, that either the accuſer or the accuſed ſhall ſuffer death; the former if he fails in his accuſation, the latter if the crime be proved [g].

It now remains for me to enumerate ſome of the principal caſes in which the Athenian tribunals have pronounced ſentence againſt the crime of impiety, within about a century.

The poet Æſchylus was accuſed of having, in one of his tragedies, revealed the doctrine of the myſteries. His brother Amynias endeavoured to move the compaſſion of the judges, by ſhowing the wounds he had received at the battle of Salamis: this expedient would probably have failed in its effect, had not Æſchylus clearly proved that he had not been initiated into the myſteries. The people were waiting at the door of the tribunal to ſtone him [h].

The philoſopher Diagoras, of Melos, accuſed of revealing the myſteries, and denying the exiſtence of the gods, ſaved himſelf by flight. Rewards were offered to any perſon who ſhould deliver him up, alive or dead; and the decree that branded him with infamy, was engraven on a brazen column [i].

Protagoras, one of the moſt illuſtrious ſophiſts of his time, having begun one of his works with theſe words, "I know not whether there be gods, or whether there be not;" was criminally proſecuted, and obliged to fly. His writings were ſought for in private houſes, and burnt in the forum [k].

Prodicus of Ceos was condemned to drink poiſon, for having aſſerted, that men had placed among the number of the

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[g] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 4.

[h] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 29. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 19. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 461.

[i] Lyſ. in Andoc. p. 111. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 323. Id. in Av. v. 1073. Schol. ibid.

[k] Laert. lib. 9. cap. 52. Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 493. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 416.

gods all objects from which they derived utility; such as the sun, the moon, fountains, &c [l].

The faction which opposed Pericles, not daring openly to attack him, resolved to effect his ruin by indirect means. He was the friend of Anaxagoras, who admitted one supreme intelligence. In virtue of a decree enacted against all who deny the existence of the gods, Anaxagoras was dragged to prison. On his trial, he had only a few more suffrages in his favour than his accuser, and for these he was indebted to the prayers and tears of Pericles, who sent him out of Athens. But for the influence of his patron, the most religious of philosophers would have been stoned to death as an atheist [m].

At the time of the Sicilian expedition, and at the moment that Alcibiades was embarking the troops under his command, the statues of Mercury, placed in different quarters of Athens, were found all mutilated in one night [n]. The whole city was instantly thrown into consternation. Views of a more profound nature were imputed to the authors of this impiety, which was regarded as the work of faction. The people immediately assembled; and witnesses appeared, who charged Alcibiades with disfiguring the statues, accusing him, at the same time, with celebrating the mysteries of Ceres in private houses [o], with the companions of his debaucheries. The soldiers, however, loudly taking the part of their general, his trial was suspended for that time; but scarcely had he landed in Sicily before his enemies renewed the charge [p], informers multiplied, and the prisons were filled with citizens devoted to destruction by injustice. Several were put to death, and others escaped only by flight [q].

In the course of these proceedings, an incident occurred, that evinces the excess to which the people carry their blind

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[l] Cicer. ibid. cap. 42. t. ii. p. 432. Sext. Empir. adv. Phys. lib. 9. p. 552. Suid. in Πρω.

[m] Hermip. et Hieron. ap. Laert. l. 2. § 13. Plut. de Profect. t. ii. p. 84. Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. 14. cap. 14.

[n] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 200.

[o] Andoc. de Myst. p. 3.

[p] Plut. ibid. p. 201.

[q] Andoc. ibid.

reſentment. One of the witneſſes being interrogated, by what means he could diſtinguiſh the perſons in queſtion in the night? anſwered, By the light of the moon. It was proved, however, that there was then no moon; yet this glaring perjury, which filled every honeſt citizen with diſmay [r], only ſerved to increaſe the fury of the people.

Alcibiades, ſummoned before this unworthy tribunal, when on the point of making himſelf maſter of Meſſina, and perhaps of all Sicily, refuſed to make his appearance, and was condemned to die. His eſtates were ſold, and the decree proſcribing him, and branding his name with infamy, was engraven upon a column [s]. The prieſts of all the temples had orders to pronounce againſt him the moſt horrible imprecations; and all obeyed, except the prieſteſs Theano, whoſe anſwer was more worthy of being preſerved on a column than the popular decree: "I was appointed to my office," ſaid ſhe, "to procure for men the bleſſings, and not to pronounce on them the curſes of heaven [t]."

Alcibiades having offered his ſervices to the enemies of his country, reduced the Athenians to the very brink of ruin. When they found it at length neceſſary to recal him, the prieſts of Ceres oppoſed his return [u], but were at laſt conſtrained to abſolve him from the imprecations with which they had loaded him; the chief of the ſacred miniſters, however, boldly expreſſed himſelf in the following remarkable terms: "I have not curſed Alcibiades, if he were innocent [x]."

Sometime after occurred the proſecution againſt Socrates, in which religion was only the pretext, as I ſhall hereafter demonſtrate.

Nor are the Athenians more indulgent to the crime of ſacrilege. The laws puniſh this offence with death, and de-

[r] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 201.
[s] Nep in Alcib. cap. 4.
[t] Plut. ibid. p. 202. Id. Quæſt. Rom. t. ii. p. 275.
[u] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 53.
[x] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210.

prive the body of the criminal of the rites of ſepulture [y]. This puniſhment, which ſome philoſophers, in other reſpects enlightened, do not conſider as too ſevere [z], is extended by the falſe zeal of the Athenians even to the ſlighteſt tranſgreſſions. Incredible as it may appear, citizens have been condemned to die, ſome for having pulled up a ſhrub within the precincts of a ſacred wood; and others for having killed I know not what bird, conſecrated to Æſculapius [a]. But I ſhall relate a ſtill more dreadful inſtance of ſeverity. A leaf of gold having fallen from the crown of Diana, was picked up by an infant. The child was ſo very young, that it was neceſſary to make trial of his diſcernment. The leaf of gold, therefore, with ſome dice, ſome play-things, and a large piece of money, were preſented to him; and the child having given the preference to the money, the judges declared this to be a ſufficient proof of his capacity of guilt, and cauſed him to be put to death [b].

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[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 427.
[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 854.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 17.
[b] Id. ibid. cap 16. Poll. lib. 9. c. 6. § 75.

NOTES.

NOTE I.

On the Dialects made uſe of by Homer.—Page 49.

HOMER frequently employs the different dialects of Greece; and this has been imputed to him as a fault. It is, ſay theſe critics, as if a French writer were to lay under contribution the dialects of Languedoc, of Picardy, and other local idioms. The reproach is apparently well founded. But how is it poſſible to imagine that Homer, endowed with the readieſt and moſt fertile genius, ſhould have allowed himſelf to take liberties, on which the moſt inconſiderable of poets would not venture; and have dared to create, in order to facilitate his verſification, a fantaſtic language, with which not only poſterity, but even his own age, however ignorant we may ſuppoſe it, muſt have been diſguſted? It is more natural therefore to conclude that he made uſe of the uſual language of his time.

Among the ancient inhabitants of Greece, the ſame letters ſignified ſounds more or leſs aſpirated, or more or leſs open; the ſame words had ſeveral terminations, and were variouſly modified. Theſe undoubtedly were irregularities, but ſuch as are common enough in the infancy of languages, and ſuch as might well have ſubſiſted for a long time among the Greeks, from the frequency of emigrations. When theſe tribes of people were completely ſettled, certain modes of ſpeech became peculiar to certain diſtricts; and it was at this period that language was divided into dialects, which of themſelves were ſuſceptible of ſubdiviſions. The

frequent variations words have undergone, as we ſee in the moſt ancient monuments of our own language, give us reaſon to preſume that the ſame thing has happened in the language of Greece.

To this general reaſon we muſt add another relative to the country in which Homer wrote. The Ionian colony, which, two centuries before the birth of that poet, went to ſettle on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, under Naoclus, the ſon of Codrus, was in a great meaſure compoſed of Ionians from Peloponneſus; but they were joined likewiſe by a number of the inhabitants of Thebes, Phocis, and ſome other countries of Greece [a].

It appears to me probable, therefore, that the language made uſe of by Homer was formed from a mixture of the reſpective idioms of theſe emigrants with thoſe of the Æolians and other Greek colonies bordering on Ionia; but that at length, by the progreſſive alterations common to all languages, ſome dialects were circumſcribed within certain cities, and aſſumed more diſtinct characters, retaining, nevertheleſs, varieties ſufficient to atteſt the ancient confuſion. And in fact Herodotus, who wrote four hundred years after Homer [b], admits four ſubdiviſions in the dialect then ſpoken in Ionia [c].

NOTE II.

On Epimenides.—Page 61.

Every thing relative to Epimenides is full of obſcurity. Some ancient authors make him come to Athens towards the year 600 before Chriſt. Plato is the only one who fixes the date of this journey to the year 500 before the ſame æra [d]. This difficulty has perplexed the modern critics. It has been ſaid that the text of Plato was corrupted; but this does not appear to have been the caſe. It has likewiſe been ſaid that there were two perſons of the name of Epimenides; but this ſuppoſition is deſtitute of probability. In fine, after ſome ancient authors, who make Epimenides

[a] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 528.
[b] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 53.
[c] Id. lib. 1. cap. 142.
[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 641.

live 154, 157, nay even 299 years, ſome have ventured to advance that he came twice to Athens, the firſt time at the age of forty, and the ſecond at that of one hundred and fifty [e]. It is indeed poſſible that this may be true; but it is ſtill more ſo that Plato was miſtaken. For further ſatisfaction, the reader may conſult Fabricius [f].

NOTE III.

On the Authority of Fathers at Athens.—Page 72.

When we ſee Solon depriving fathers of the power of ſelling their children, as they had formerly done, we can with difficulty believe that he allowed them to put them to death, as ſeveral ancient writers, poſterior to that legiſlator, have aſſerted [g]. I ſhould rather be inclined to credit the teſtimony of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, who, in his Roman Antiquities [h], obſerves, that, by the laws of Solon, Pittacus, and Charondas, the Greeks only permitted fathers to diſinherit their children, or expel them their houſes, without ſuffering them to inflict any ſeverer puniſhments. If the Greeks afterwards gave a greater extent to the paternal power, it is to be preſumed that they borrowed the idea from the Roman laws.

NOTE IV.

On the Song of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton.—Page 88.

Athenæus [i] has given us one of the ſongs compoſed in honour of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which M. de la Nauze [k] has thus tranſlated:

[e] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. iii. p. 72.

[f] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 36 et 502. Brucker. Hiſtor. Crit. Philoſ. t. i. p. 419.

[g] Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypot. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 180. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 24. Vid. Meurſ. Them. Attic. lib 1. cap. 2.

[h] Dionyſ. Halic. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 292.

[i] Athen. lib. 15. cap. 15. p. 695.

[k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. § x. p. 337.

" I will wear my ſword covered with myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, when they ſlew the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed equality of laws in Athens.

" Beloved Harmodius! thou art not dead: they ſay thou liveſt in the iſlands of the bleſſed, where is the ſwift-footed Achilles, and Diomed the valiant ſon of Tydeus.

" I will wear my ſword covered with myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, when they ſlew the tyrant Hipparchus at the feſtival of the Panathenæa.

" May your glory be eternal, beloved Harmodius, beloved Ariſtogiton! ſince you have ſlain the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed equality of laws in Athens."

NOTE V.

On the Treaſures of the Kings of Perſia.—Page 98.

We ſee, by what is ſaid in the text, the reaſon why Alexander found ſuch vaſt ſums accumulated in the treaſuries of Perſepolis, Suſa, Paſagarda, &c.[l] I doubt, notwithſtanding, whether we ſhould give credit to Juſtin, when he ſays[m], that, after the conqueſt of Perſia, Alexander annually drew three hundred thouſand talents from his new ſubjects, which would make about ſixteen hundred and twenty millions of French livres (or ſixty-ſeven millions and a half ſterling).

NOTE VI.

On the Bridges of Boats built over the Helleſpont, by Order of Xerxes.—Page 115.

These two bridges began at Abydos, and terminated a little below Seſtus. It is now known, that this paſſage, which is the

[l] Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 128. lb. cap. 18. p. 131. Quint. Curt. lib. 5. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 544. Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 686.

[m] Juſtin. lib. 13. cap. 1.

narroweſt part of the ſtrait, is only about 375½ toiſes (or 800 yards) wide. As the length of the bridges is ſaid to have been ſeven ſtadia, M. D'Anville has from thence inferred, that theſe ſtadia were only 51 toiſes (108 yards) each [n].

NOTE VII.

On the Number of Grecian Troops under the Command of Leonidas at Thermopylæ.—Page 125.

I SHALL now lay before the reader the eſtimates of Herodotus, lib. 7. cap. 202; of Pauſanias, lib. 10. cap. 20. page 845; and of Diodorus, lib. 11. p. 4.

TROOPS OF PELOPONNESUS.

According to Herodotus.		According to Pauſanias.		According to Diodorus.	
Spartans	300	Spartans	300	Spartans	300
Tegeatæ	500	Tegeatæ	500	Lacedæmonians	700
Mantineans	500	Mantineans	500		
Orchomenians	120	Orchomenians	120		
Arcadians	1000	Arcadians	1000		
Corinthians	400	Corinthians	400		
Phliuntians	200	Phliuntians	200	Other States of Peloponneſus	3000
Myceneans	80	Myceneans	80		
Total	3100	Total	3100	Total	4000

OTHER STATES OF GREECE.

Theſpians	700	Theſpians	700	Mileſians	1000
Thebans	400	Thebans	400	Thebans	400
Phocians	1000	Phocians	1000	Phocians	1000
Opuntian-Locrians		Locrians	6000	Locrians	1000
Total	5200	Total	11,200	Total	7400

[n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 334.

Thus, according to Herodotus, the cities of Peloponneſus furniſhed 3100 ſoldiers, the Theſpians 700, the Thebans 400, the Phocians 1000; total 5200, without reckoning the Opuntian-Locrians, who marched in a body.

Pauſanias follows, for the other nations, the calculation of Herodotus, and conjectures that the Locrians amounted to 6000; which gives a total of 11,200 men.

According to Diodorus, Leonidas repaired to Thermopylæ at the head of 4000 men, among whom were 300 Spartans, and 700 Lacedæmonians. He adds, that this body was ſoon reinforced by 1000 Mileſians, 400 Thebans, 1000 Locrians, and almoſt an equal number of Phocians; total 7400 men. On the other hand, Juſtin [o] and other authors ſay, that Leonidas had but 4000 men.

Theſe doubts would perhaps vaniſh, if we had all the inſcriptions which were engraved after the battle, on five columns erected at Thermopylæ [p]. We ſtill have that of the augur Megiſtias [q]; but this throws no light on the ſubject; the others were conſecrated to the ſoldiers of the different nations. On that of the Spartans, it is ſaid, they were 300; on another, it was inſcribed, that 4000 ſoldiers of Peloponneſus had fought againſt three millions of Perſians [r]. That of the Locrians is quoted by Strabo, who does not give us the particulars [s]: the number of their ſoldiers muſt have been on it. We have not the laſt, which was doubtleſs for the Theſpians; for it could not be either for the Phocians, who did not fight, or the Thebans, who had gone over to Xerxes when theſe monuments were erected.

The following are a few reflections to reconcile the preceding eſtimates:

1. It is evident that Juſtin relied ſolely on the inſcription in honour of the nations of Peloponneſus, when he allows only 4000 men to Leonidas.

2. Herodotus does not fix the number of the Locrians. It is only by a ſlight conjecture that Pauſanias makes it amount to 6000. In the firſt place, Strabo may be oppoſed to him, who poſitively

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[o] Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 11.
[p] Strab. lib. 9. p. 422.
[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 228.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Strab. ibid.

ſays [t], that Leonidas received from the neighbouring nations only a ſmall number of ſoldiers; and next, Diodorus Siculus, who, in his eſtimate, allows only 1000 Locrians.

3. In the enumeration of theſe troops, Diodorus has omitted the Theſpians [u], though he makes mention of them in the courſe of his narration [x]: inſtead of the Theſpians, he reckons 1000 Mileſians. No people of this name are known on the continent of Greece. Paulmier [y] is of opinion, that we ſhould ſubſtitute the name of Malians for that of Mileſians. Theſe Malians had at firſt ſubmitted to Xerxes [z]; and, as we might be ſurpriſed at ſeeing them united with the Greeks, Paulmier ſuppoſes, from a paſſage of Herodotus [a], that they did not declare openly for the Perſians until after the fight at Thermopylæ. Is it, however, to be preſumed, that, inhabiting, as they did, an open country, they would have dared to take up arms againſt a powerful nation, to which they had ſworn obedience? It is much more probable, that, in the affair of Thermopylæ, they furniſhed ſuccours neither to the Greeks nor Perſians; but that, after the battle, they ſent ſome ſhips to join the fleet of the latter. By whatever means this error has crept into the text of Diodorus, I am inclined to think, that inſtead of 1000 Mileſians, we ſhould read 700 Theſpians.

4. Diodorus adds 700 Lacedæmonians to the 300 Spartans; and his teſtimony is clearly confirmed by that of Iſocrates [b]. Herodotus does not mention them, perhaps from their not beginning their march till after Leonidas. I have, however, thought it right to admit them. Independent of the authorities of Diodorus and Iſocrates, we know that the Spartans ſeldom took the field without being accompanied by a body of Lacedæmonians. It is alſo certain, that the cities of Peloponneſus furniſhed 4000 men: this number was clearly expreſſed in the inſcription placed upon their tomb; yet Herodotus reckons only 3100, not thinking it neceſſary to mention the 700 Lacedæmonians, who, according to all appearance, joined Leonidas at Thermopylæ.

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[t] Strab. lib. 9. p. 429.
[u] Diod. lib. 11. p. 5.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 8
[y] Palmer. Exercit. p. 106.
[z] Diod lib. 11. p. 3.
[a] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 66.
[b] Iſocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 164; et in Archid. t. ii. p. 62.

To conclude theſe remarks—Herodotus carries the number of the combatants to 5200; and if we add, on the one hand, 700 Lacedæmonians, and, on the other, the Locrians, whoſe number he has not ſpecified, and who are ſtated by Diodorus only at 1000, we ſhall have 6900 men.

Pauſanias reckons 11,200 men; and if we add the 700 Lacedæmonians he has omitted, after the example of Herodotus, we ſhall have 11,900. Let us reduce, with Diodorus, the 6000 Locrians to 1000, and we ſhall have a total of 6900 men.

The calculation of Diodorus gives us 7400 men. If we change the 1000 Mileſians into 700 Theſpians, we ſhall have 7100: on the whole, therefore, we may ſay, that Leonidas had with him about 7000 men.

It appears by Herodotus [c], that the Spartans, according to cuſtom, were accompanied by Helots. Ancient authors have not compriſed them in their eſtimates; and poſſibly they did not exceed the number of 300.

When Leonidas learned that the enemy were attempting to turn his army, he ſent back the greater part of his troops, retaining only the Spartans, the Theſpians, and Thebans, which formed a nominal body of 1400 men: but the greater part had periſhed in the firſt attacks; and, if we may credit Diodorus [d], Leonidas had no more than 500 ſoldiers when he determined to attack the Perſian camp.

NOTE VIII.

On the Sums expended on the Public Edifices erected by Order of Pericles.—Page 229.

Thucydides [e] gives us to underſtand, that they amounted to 3700 talents; in which calculation he compriſes not only the expence of the Propylæa, and other edifices built by order of Pericles, but that of the ſiege of Potidæa. This ſiege, ſays he elſewhere [f], coſt 2000

[c] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 229; et lib. 8. cap. 25.
[d] Diod. lib. 11. p. 8, 9.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 70.

talents; there would therefore only remain 1700 for the works undertaken by the direction of Pericles. But an ancient author [g] reports, that the Propylæa alone coſt 2012 talents.

To reſolve this difficulty, let us obſerve that Thucydides has only given us the ſtate of the Athenian finances for the preciſe time when the Peloponneſian war was determined on; that the ſiege of Potidæa was then ſcarcely begun; that it laſted two years; and that the hiſtorian, in the former paſſage, ſpoke only of the firſt expences of the ſiege. Suppoſing that they then amounted to 700 talents, we will appropriate the remaining 3000 to the buildings with which Pericles embelliſhed the city. 3000 talents, at 5400 livres each talent, make 16,200,000 livres (or 675,000l. ſterling); but as, in the time of Pericles, the talent might be worth 300 livres more, we ſhall have 17,100,000 livres (or 712,500l. ſterling).

CHAP. I.—Page 236.

On the Privileges mutually granted to each other by Leucon and the Athenians.

That theſe privileges might be known to all perſons engaged in commerce, they were engraved on three columns, the firſt of which was placed in the Piræus; the ſecond at the Boſphorus of Thrace; and the third at the Cimmerian Boſphorus, that is to ſay, at the beginning, in the middle, and at the termination of the courſe purſued by the trading veſſels [a].

CHAP. III.—Page 274.

On Sappho.

The part of the Parian Chronicle which mentions Sappho is almoſt entirely obliterated on the marble [b]; but we read very diſtinctly

[g] Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in πρόπυλ.

[a] Demoſth. adv. Leptin. p. 546.

[b] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 37.

that ſhe fled, and embarked for Sicily. It was not, therefore, to follow Phaon, as it is pretended, that ſhe went to that iſland. It is probable that Alcæus engaged her in the conſpiracy againſt Pittacus, and that ſhe was baniſhed from Mytilene, at the ſame time with him and his partiſans.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 276.

On the Ode of Sappho.

Heureux celui qui près de toi ſoupire,
Qui ſur lui ſeul attire ces beaux yeux,
Ces doux accens et ce tendre ſourire!
Il eſt égal aux dieux.
De veine en veine une ſubtile flâme
Court dans mon ſein, ſitôt que je te vois;
Et dans le trouble où s'égare mon âme
Je demeure ſans voix.
Je n'entends plus; un voile eſt ſur ma vue:
Je rêve, et tombe en de douces langueurs;
Et ſans haleine, interdite, éperdue,
Je tremble, je me meurs.

On reading this free tranſlation, for which I am indebted to the friendſhip of the Abbé Delille, it will eaſily be perceived that he has thought proper to avail himſelf of that of Boileau, and that his ſole object was to give ſome idea of the ſpecies of meaſure invented, or at leaſt frequently employed by Sappho. In the greater part of her works, each ſtrophe was compoſed of hendecaſyllabic verſes, that is, verſes of eleven ſyllables, and cloſed by a verſe of five ſyllables.

CHAP. V.—Page 286.

On Epaminondas.

Clearchus of Solos, cited by Athenæus [c], relates a fact capable of rendering the purity of the morals of Epaminondas ſuſpected; but this fact, which is only obſcurely hinted, would contradict the united teſtimony of all antiquity, and can by no means be reconciled with the rigid principles from which this great man never deviated, even in the moſt critical circumſtances.

CHAP. IX.—Page 339.

On the Time of celebrating the greater Feſtivals of Bacchus.

It is preſumed that the greater Dionyſia, or Dionyſia of the city, began on the 12th of the month Elaphebolion [d]. In the 2d year of the 104th Olympiad, the year in queſtion, the 12th of the month Elaphebolion fell on the 8th of April of the Julian proleptic year 362.

CHAP. XII.—Page 364.

On the Plan of Athens.

I thought it not improper to lay before the reader the ſketch of a plan of Athens, relatively to the time in which I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled. It is extremely imperfect, and I am very far from being able to warrant its exactneſs.

After comparing what ancient authors have ſaid reſpecting the topography of this city, with what modern travellers have imagined they diſcovered in its ruins, I have only attempted to aſcertain, as accurately as I was able, the poſition of ſome remarkable places and edifices. To accompliſh this, it was firſt neceſſary to

[c] *Athen.* lib. 13. cap. 6. p. 590.
[d] *Dodwel.* de Cycl. p. 298. Id. Ann. Thucyd. p. 165. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 326 et 385.

determine in what quarter the forum, called the *agora*, that is to ſay, market, by the Greeks, was ſituated.

In all the Grecian cities, there was a principal place, or ſquare, decorated with ſtatues, altars, temples, and other public edifices, ſurrounded by ſhops, and filled at certain hours of the day with the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the people. The inhabitants reſorted thither every day. The twenty thouſand citizens of Athens, ſays Demoſthenes [e], never ceaſe to frequent the forum, occupied either with their own affairs, or with thoſe of the ſtate.

Among ancient authors, I have preferred the teſtimonies of Plato, Xenophon, Demoſthenes, and Æſchines, who lived at the time I have choſen. Should Pauſanias [f] appear in ſome degree to differ from them, I apprize the reader that it is the forum, as it exiſted in their time, and not that he ſpeaks of, which is the ſubject of the preſent inquiry. The ſame anſwer I ſhould make to thoſe who might oppoſe paſſages to me, relative to periods too remote from the time of which I ſpeak.

The Forum, or Agora. The poſition of this place is determined by the ſubſequent paſſages. Æſchines ſays [g], "Imagine yourſelf in the Pœcile (a celebrated portico), for in the forum are the monuments of your great achievements." Lucian introduces ſeveral philoſophers in one of his dialogues [h], and makes Plato ſay, "It is unneceſſary to go to the houſe of that woman (Philoſophy). On her return from the academy, ſhe will come, according to cuſtom, to the Ceramicus, in order to walk in the Pœcile." "At the taking of Athens, by Sylla," ſays Plutarch [i], "the blood ſpilt in the forum deluged the Ceramicus, which is within the gate Dipylon; and many perſons affirm that it flowed out of the gate, and ſpread even over the ſuburb."

Hence it follows, 1ſt, That this place was ſituated in the quarter of the Ceramicus: 2dly, that it was near the gate Dipylon, the gate which led to the academy: 3dly, that the Pœcile was in that place.

[e] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 836.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 1.
[g] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 458.
[h] Lucian. in Piſcat. t. i. p. 581.
[i] Plut. in Syll. t. i. p. 460.

Æſchines, in the paſſage I have quoted, gives us clearly to underſtand, that the Metroon was likewiſe in that place. This was an encloſure and temple, in honour of the mother of the gods. Within its precincts alſo ſtood the palace of the ſenate, a circumſtance confirmed by many paſſages [k].

Next to the Metroon, I have placed the edifices and monuments immediately indicated by Pauſanias [l], as the Tholus, the ſtatues of the Eponymi, &c. Taking Herodotus [m] for my guide, I have placed there the temple of Æacus; and following Demoſthenes [n], the Leocorion, a temple built in honour of the daughters of Leos, who formerly ſacrificed themſelves, to free the city from the plague.

Royal Portico. I have placed this at the junction of two ſtreets leading to the forum. The firſt is pointed out by Pauſanias [o], who proceeds from this portico to the Metroon; the ſecond by an ancient author [p], who poſitively ſays, that from the Pœcile to the Royal Portico, that is to ſay, between one portico and the other, we meet with ſeveral Hermæ or ſtatues of Mercury, terminated in a ſheath.

Poecile and Portico of the Hermæ. From this laſt paſſage, I have placed the Pœcile at the end of a ſtreet which goes from the Royal Portico to the forum, and at one end of the corners of the ſtreet fronting the forum. On the oppoſite corner ſhould be an edifice, ſometimes called the Portico of the Hermæ, and ſometimes ſimply by the name of the Hermæ [q]. To prove that it was in the forum, it will be ſufficient to adduce two teſtimonies. Mneſimachus, in one of his comedies, has ſaid, "Begone to the Agora, to the Hermæ [r]." "On certain feſtivals," ſays Xenophon [s], "it is fitting that the horſemen ſhould pay due honours to the temples and the ſtatues which are in the Agora. They ſhall begin at the Hermæ, make the circuit of the Agora, and return

k Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 458. Plut. Vit. X. Rhet. t. ii. p. 842. Suid. in Μήτρωον. Harpocr. in ὁ Καλῶν.

l Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 12.

m Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 89.

n Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1109 et 1113.

o Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 3.

p Ap. Harpocr. in Ἑρμαῖ.

q Æſch. in Cteſiph. p. 458. Lyſ. in Pancl. p. 398. Demoſt. in Leptin. p. 557. Meurſ. Athen. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 3.

r Mneſim. ap. Athen. lib. 9. cap. 15. p. 402

s Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 959.

to the Hermæ." I have hence ſuppoſed, that this portico might terminate the ſtreet along which were ranged a ſeries of Hermæ.

The Pœcile was in the forum, in the time of Æſchines, but was ſo no longer in the time of Pauſanias, who ſpeaks of this portico previous to his viſiting the Agora[t]; alterations had been made, therefore, in this quarter. I ſuppoſe that, in the age when Pauſanias lived, one part of the ancient forum was covered with houſes; that towards its ſouthern part only one ſtreet was remaining, in which were the ſenate-houſe, the Tholus, &c.; that the oppoſite part had extended towards the north, and that the Pœcile had been ſeparated from it by buildings; for the changes I have mentioned had not removed the forum to another part of of the city. Pauſanias mentions it as near the Pœcile, and we have ſeen that in the time of Sylla it was ſtill in the Ceramicus, near to the gate Dipylon.

From theſe obſervations it will not be difficult to trace out the path taken by Pauſanias. From the Royal Portico he follows a ſtreet extending along the ſouthern part of the ancient forum; he returns by the ſame way, and viſits ſome monuments which are to the ſouth-weſt of the citadel, ſuch as an edifice which he takes for the ancient Odéum (p. 20), the Eleuſinium (p. 35), &c. He then returns to the Royal Portico (p. 36), and following the ſtreet of the Hermæ, firſt repairs to the Pœcile, and afterward to the forum exiſting in his time (p. 39), which, according to appearances, had formed part of the ancient one, or at leaſt was at no great diſtance from it. I ſhould be much inclined to attribute the changes it had undergone to the emperor Adrian.

On leaving the Agora, Pauſanias proceeds to the gymnaſium of Ptolemy (p. 39), which did not exiſt in the age referred to in my work; and from thence to the temple of Theſeus, which is ſtill remaining. The diſtance from this temple to one of the points of the citadel was given me by M. Foucherot, an able engineer, who accompanied the Comte de Choiſeul Gouffier into Greece, and who, having ſince viſited the antiquities of Athens a

[t] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 36; cap. 17. p. 39.

second time, has been so obliging as to communicate to me all the information he has acquired from an inspection of the places.

I have followed Pausanias as far as the Prytaneum (p. 41). From thence he appears to me to have re-ascended towards the north-east, where he finds several temples, those of Serapis, of Lucina, and of Jupiter Olympius (p. 42.). He then turns to the eastward, and traverses a quarter which is without the city, in my plan, and which belonged to it in his time, the walls having been destroyed. He there visits the gardens of Venus, the Cynosarges, and the Lycæum (p. 44); and afterwards crosses the Ilissus, and proceeds to the Stadium (p. 45 et 46).

I have not accompanied Pausanias in this track, because several of the monuments he there met with were posterior to the time I have chosen, and the others cannot be admitted into the plan of the city within the walls: but I again take him for a guide, when, on his return to the Prytaneum, he proceeds to the citadel, by the street of the Tripods.

Street of the Tripods. This street received its name, according to Pausanias[u], because in it were several temples containing tripods of bronze in honour of the gods; which were dedicated in consequence of victories gained by the tribes of Athens in competitions of music and dancing. Now, at the foot of the citadel, to the eastward, several inscriptions have been discovered which make mention of such victories[x]. That beautiful structure, known at present by the name of the Lanthern of Demosthenes, constituted one of the principal ornaments of the street. It was built of marble, on occasion of the prize decreed to the tribe of Acamantis, under the archonship of Avænetus[y], in the year 335 before Christ, one year after Anacharsis had quitted Athens. Near this monument an inscription has been found in these later times, given among those collected by Mr. Chandler[z]. In it the tribe Pandionis decreed a column to be erected, in the edifice belonging to them in this street, for an Athenian, named Nicias,

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 46.

[x] Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 99. Id. Inscript. in Not. p. xxvii.

[y] Spon. t. ii. p. 101. Wheel. book 5. p. 397. Le Roi, Ruin. des Monum. de la Grèce, part. 1. p. 20. Stuart, Antiquities of Athens, chap. 4. p. 27.

[z] Chandl. Inscript. part 2. p. 49. Ibid. in Not. p. xxii.

who had been their choregus, and had obtained the palm at the feſtivals of Bacchus, and at thoſe named Thargelia. It further declares, that from that time (from the archonſhip of Euclid, in the year 403 before Chriſt), the names of ſuch of the tribe as ſhould gain ſimilar advantages, on certain feſtivals mentioned in the decree, ſhould be inſcribed on the ſame column.

From what I have ſaid, it is evident that the ſtreet of the Tripods extended along the eaſtern ſide of the citadel.

The Odeum of Pericles. At the end of the ſtreet I have been ſpeaking of, and before he came to the theatre of Bacchus, Pauſanias found an edifice of which he does not tell us the deſtination. He only obſerves, that it was built after the model of the tent of Xerxes, and that having been burnt by Sylla during the ſiege of Athens, it was afterwards rebuilt [a]. Let us compare with this teſtimony what we find in other authors concerning the ancient Odéum of Athens. This theatre [b] was erected by Pericles [c], and intended for muſical competitions [d]: the roof, which was conſtructed of the maſts and yards of the veſſels taken from the Perſians [e], and in its form imitated the tent of Xerxes [f], was ſupported by columns of ſtone or marble. Its ſhape had furniſhed a ſubject for many pleaſantries. Cratinus the poet, in one of his comedies, wiſhing to ſignify that the head of Pericles was of a pointed ſhape, ſaid that Pericles wore the Odéum on his head [g]. The Odéum was burnt at the ſiege of Athens by Sylla [h], and ſoon after reſtored by Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia [i].

From theſe paſſages, collected from different authors, it is very evident that the edifice ſpoken of by Pauſanias is the ſame with the Odéum of Pericles; and from the paſſage of Pauſanias, that this Odéum was ſituated between the ſtreet of the Tripods, and the theatre of Bacchus. This poſition is confirmed likewiſe by the authority of Vitruvius, who places the Odéum to the left of

[a] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 47.
[b] Suid. in Ωδ. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 1104.
[c] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160. Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9. Suid. ibid.
[d] Heſych. in Ωδ.
[e] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9. Theophr. Charact. cap. 3.
[f] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.
[g] Cratin. ap. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160
[h] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. p. 331.
[i] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hiſt. p. 189.

the theatre [k]. But it may be ſaid that Pauſanias had already given the name of Odéum to another ſtructure. I ſhall ſoon reply to that objection.

THEATRE OF BACCHUS. On the ſouth-weſt angle of the citadel, the ruins of a theatre ſtill exiſt, which had always been taken for that of Bacchus, in which tragedies and comedies were repreſented. Dr. Chandler, however [l], has placed the theatre of Bacchus at the ſouth-eaſt angle of the citadel; and I have followed his opinion, for ſeveral reaſons. 1ſt, From obſervation of the ground, Mr. Chandler is of opinion that a theatre had formerly ſtood there; and M. Foucherot has ſince verified the fact. 2dly, Pauſanias [m] relates, that above the theatre was to be ſeen in his time a tripod in a grotto hewn out of the rock: now preciſely above the ſpot where Mr. Chandler has ſuppoſed the theatre to have ſtood, is a grotto formed out of the rock, and ſince converted into a church, under the title of *Panagia Spiliotiſſa*, which may be rendered *Our Lady of the Grotto*. Let it be obſerved too, that the word *ſpiliotiſſa* clearly deſignates the word σπηλαῖον, which Pauſanias employs to ſignify this cavern. The reader may here conſult what travellers have ſaid of this grotto [n]. It is true that above the other theatre, to the ſouth-weſt, there are two ſorts of niches, but it is impoſſible in any way to confound them with the grotto mentioned by Pauſanias. 3dly, Xenophon [o], when ſpeaking of the exerciſe of the cavalry, which was performed at, or rather near to, the Lycæum, ſays: "When the horſemen ſhall have paſſed the angle of the theatre, which is oppoſite, &c.:" the theatre then was on the ſide of the Lycæum. 4thly, I have ſaid, that at the principal feſtivals of the Athenians, choruſes, taken from each tribe, diſputed with each other the palm in dancing and muſic; that a tripod was beſtowed on the victorious tribe, which was conſecrated to the gods; that underneath this offering was engraven the name of the tribe, that of the citizen who maintained the chorus at his expence, and ſometimes that of the poet who had compoſed the verſes, or the teacher who had exerciſed the per-

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[k] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9.
[l] Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 64.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 49.
[n] Wheel. a Journey, &c. p. 368. Spon, t. ii. p. 97. Chandl. Travels in Greece, p. 62.
[o] Xenoph. de Mag. Equit. p. 959.

formers [p]. I have ſaid likewiſe, that in the time of Pauſanias there exiſted a tripod in the grotto which was above the theatre. Even at preſent we ſee at the entrance of this grotto a kind of triumphal arch, bearing three inſcriptions of different periods, in honour of two tribes who had gained a prize [q]. One of theſe inſcriptions is of the year 320 before Chriſt, and poſterior only by a few years to the travels of Anacharſis.

Since we find at the extremity of the Acropolis, and on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, monuments erected for thoſe who had been crowned at the competitions uſual at the theatre [r], we are juſtified in preſuming that the theatre of Bacchus was ſituated at the termination of the ſtreet of the Tripods, and preciſely at the ſpot where Mr. Chandler has ſuppoſed it. For, as I have already obſerved, in Chap. XII. the trophies of the victors would naturally be near the field of battle.

The authors who lived at the period I have choſen, ſpeak only of one theatre; for that, the ruins of which are ſeen at the ſouth-weſt angle of the citadel, did not exiſt in their time. I concur with Mr. Chandler, in ſuppoſing the latter to be the Odéum which Herodes, the ſons of Atticus, built five hundred years after, and on which Philoſtratus beſtows the name of Theatre [s]. "The Odéum of Patræ," ſays Pauſanias [t], "would be the moſt beautiful of any in Greece; were it not eclipſed by that of Athens, which ſurpaſſes every other in magnitude and magnificence. It was erected by Herodes the Athenian, after the death, and in honour of, his wife. In my deſcription of Attica I have omitted this Odéum, becauſe I had finiſhed my account of Athens before Herodes had begun the building." Philoſtratus remarks likewiſe that the theatre of Herodes was one of the moſt beatiful edifices in the world [u].

Mr. Chandler ſuppoſes the Odéum, or theatre of Herodes, to have been erected on the ruins of the Odéum of Pericles. I cannot be of his opinion. Pauſanias, who places the latter edifice elſewhere, does not, in ſpeaking of the former, ſay that Herodes

[p] Plut. in Themiſtocl. t. i. p. 114.
[q] Wheel. a Journey, &c. p. 368. Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 5.
[r] Demoſt. in Mid. p. 606 et 612.
[s] Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. in Herod. lib. 2. p. 551.
[t] Pauſan. lib. 7. cap. 20. p. 574.
[u] Philoſtr. ibid.

rebuilt it, but that he built it, ἐποίησεν. On Mr. Chandler's hypotheſis, the ancient Odéum would have been on the right of the theatre of Bacchus; whereas, according to Vetruvius, it was on the left[x]. Beſides, I have already ſhown that the Odéum of Pericles was at the ſouth-eaſt angle of the citadel.

We may now conceive the reaſon why Pauſanias, while proceeding along the ſouthern ſide of the citadel, from the ſouth-eaſt angle, where he found the theatre of Bacchus, ſays nothing either of the Odéum, or of a theatre of any kind; for the fact is, that there exiſted none at the ſouth-weſt angle at the time he wrote his firſt book, which treats of Attica.

Pnyx. Situated on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the citadel, we ſtill ſee the remains of a monument which has been ſometimes taken for the Areopagus[y], ſometimes for the Pnyx[z], and at others for the Odéum[a]. It is a large ſpace, the encloſure of which is partly cut out of the rock, and partly compoſed of huge blocks of ſtone, hewn diamond faſhion. With Mr. Chandler, I take it to be the ſquare of the Pnyx, where the people occaſionally held their aſſemblies. And indeed the Pnyx was ſurrounded by a wall[b], and ſituated oppoſite to the Areopagus[c]. From this place there was a view of the harbour of Piræus[d]. All theſe marks apply to the antiquity in queſtion. But there is another ſtill more deciſive evidence: "When the people are ſeated on this rock," ſays Ariſtophanes, &c.[e]; and it is of the Pnyx that he is ſpeaking. I omit other proofs which might be adduced in ſupport of theſe.

Pauſanias, however, ſeems to have taken this monument for the Odéum. What muſt we conclude from this?—That, in his time the Pnyx, of which he does not ſo much as ſpeak, had changed its name, becauſe the people having ceaſed to aſſemble there, the muſical competitions had been transferred to this place. By comparing with each other all the notices to be collected on this head,

[x] Vitruv. lib. 5. cap. 9.
[y] Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 116.
[z] Chandl. Travels in Greece, chap. 13. p. 68.
[a] Wheel. book 5. p. 382. Le Roi. Ruines de la Gréce, t. i. p. 18.
[b] Philocor. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 998.
[c] Lucian. in Bis. Accuſat. t. ii. p. 801.
[d] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 121.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Equit. v. 751.

we ſhall be led to conclude that this trial of ſkill originally took place in an edifice built at the ſouth-eaſt angle of the citadel, which is the Odéum of Pericles; afterwards in the Pnyx, the Odéum ſpoken of by Pauſanias; and finally in the theatre, a part of which is ſtill remaining at the ſouth-weſt angle of the citadel, the Odéum of Herodes, the ſon of Atticus.

Temple of Jupiter Olympius. To the north of the citadel, ſome magnificent ruins ſtill ſubſiſt, which attract the attention of all travellers. Some [f] have imagined that they diſcovered in them the remains of the ſuperb temple of the Olympian Jupiter, begun by Piſiſtratus, which was more than once attempted to be completed, the columns of which were conveyed to Rome by Sylla, and which was finally rebuilt by Adrian [g]. Their conjectures are founded on the deſcription of Pauſanias, which does indeed ſeem to indicate this poſition [h]; but Thucydides [i] expreſsly ſays, that this temple was to the ſouth of the citadel; and his teſtimony is accompanied with particulars which will not allow us to adopt the correction that Valla and Palmerius propoſed to make in the text of Thucydides. Mr. Stuart [k] has availed himſelf of the authority of this hiſtorian, to place the temple of Jupiter Olympius to the ſouth-eaſt of the citadel, on a ſpot where ſome large columns, commonly called the Columns of Adrian, are ſtill to be ſeen. His opinion has been combated by M. Le Roi [l], who takes the columns in queſtion for the remains of a pantheon of that emperor. Notwithſtanding the deference I have for the diſcernment of theſe two learned travellers, I had at firſt ſuſpected that the temple of Jupiter Olympius, placed by Thucydides to the ſouth of the citadel, was an ancient temple, which according to a tradition related by Pauſanias [m], was built in the remoteſt ages by Deucalion, and that the temple on the northern ſide had been founded by Piſiſtratus. This ſuppoſition would reconcile Thucydides with Pauſanias; but as new difficulties would reſult from it, I determined to lay down at a venture, in my plan, a temple of Jupiter Olympius to the ſouth of the citadel.

[f] Wheel. book 5. p. 392. Spon. t. ii. p. 108.
[g] Meurſ. Athen. Attic. l. 1. c. 10.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 42.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 15.
[k] Stuart. Antiq. of Athens chap. 5. p. 38.
[l] Le Roi Ruin. des Monum. de la Gréce t. ii. p. 21.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 18. p. 43.

Mr. Stuart has taken the ruins to the northward for the remains of the Pœcile [n]; but I hope I have proved that this celebrated portico was a part of the forum, ſituated near the gate Dipylon. Beſides, the edifice of which theſe ruins formed a part, ſeems to have been built in the time of Adrian [o], and conſequently is foreign from my plan.

The Stadium. I have not aſſigned the ſituation of this in my plan, becauſe I imagine it to have been poſterior to the times of which I treat. It appears, that in the age of Xenophon, it was uſual to exerciſe in running, in a courſe, perhaps on a road which began at the Lycæum, and extended towards the ſouth, and under the walls of the city [p]. Some time after, the orator Lycurgus cauſed a piece of ground, which one of his friends had given to the republic, to be levelled, and ſurrounded by cauſeways [q]. Afterwards, Herodes, the ſon of Atticus, rebuilt and almoſt lined with marble, the ſtadium, the ruins of which ſtill ſubſiſt [r].

The Walls of the City. I omit to diſcuſs many queſtions that might be ſtarted relative to the walls which ſurrounded the Piræus, and Munychia, and thoſe which from the Piræus and Phalerum terminated at the walls of Athens; and I ſhall only ſay a word reſpecting the circumference of the city. It is impoſſible to determine its form, but we are able pretty nearly to aſcertain its extent. Thucydides [s], when enumerating the troops neceſſary to guard the walls, ſays, that the part of them neceſſary to be defended was 43 ſtadia in length, and that one part remained which ſtood in no need of defence, namely, that which lay between the two points where the wall of Phalerum on the one ſide, and that of the Piræus on the other, terminated in the city wall. The ſcholiaſt on Thucydides aſſigns for the length of this part 17 ſtadia, and conſequently reckons for the whole circumference of the city 60 ſtadia (or about two leagues and a quarter). Were we to adopt this menſuration, the wall of Phalerum would reach as far

[n] Stuart. ibid.
[o] Le Roi. Ruin. des Monum. de la Gréce, t. ii. p. 16.
[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. ib. 2. p. 476. Id. de Magiſt. Equit. p. 959.
[q] Lycurg. Vit. X. Rhet. ap. Plut. t. ii. p. 841.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 19. p. 46. Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. lib. 2. p. 550.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.

as the Lycæum, which is not poſſible. Some conſiderable error muſt have crept into the ſcholiaſt.

I have relied in this particular, as well as in laying down of the long walls, and the environs of Athens, on the ſagacity of M. Barbié, who, after carefully ſtudying the topography of this city, has been ſo obliging as to execute the feeble eſſay which I preſent to the public. As we differ on ſome capital points concerning the interior parts, it is not juſt that he ſhould be anſwerable for the errors that may be diſcovered in this part of the plan. I might alſo have covered it with houſes, but it would have been impoſſible to diſtribute them into ſtreets.

SAME CHAP.—Page 372.

On two Inſcriptions given in this Chapter.

I have rendered the word ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕ, in the Greek text, by theſe words, *compoſed the piece, wrote the tragedy*. Yet as it ſometimes ſignifies, *had prepared or inſtructed the actors*, I will not anſwer for my tranſlation. Concerning this word, the reader may refer to the notes of Caſaubon on Athenæus (lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 260.); thoſe of Taylor on the Sandwich Marble (p. 71.); Van Dale on the Gymnaſia (p. 686.); and others.

SAME CHAP.—Page 379.

On the Manner of lighting the Temples.

The temples had no windows; ſome received light only by the door; in others, lamps were ſuſpended before the principal ſtatue [t]; others again were divided into three aiſles, by two ranges of columns. The middle aiſle was entirely open, and ſufficed to admit light into the ſide aiſles, which were covered [u]. The grand

[t] Strab. lib. 9. p. 396. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 63.

[u] Id. ibid. Vitruv. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 41.

arcades which we diſcover in the lateral parts of a temple ſtill ſubſiſting among the ruins of Agrigentum [x] have been laid open long after it was built.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 380.

On the Internal Columns of the Temples.

IT appears that the temples of the Greeks were at firſt very ſmall. When their dimenſions were increaſed, the roof was ſupported by a ſingle range of columns withinſide, above which were others that reached to the roof. This was the method employed in one of thoſe ancient temples, the ruins of which I have ſeen at Pæſtum.

In proceſs of time, inſtead of one row of columns, they erected two; and then the temples became divided into three aiſles. Such was the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, as Pauſanias tells us [y]; and that of Minerva at Athens, as M. Foucherot has aſcertained by obſervations on the ſpot. The temple of Minerva at Tegea in Arcadia, built by Scopas, was of the ſame kind. Pauſanias informs us [z], that of the internal columns, the firſt order was Doric, and the ſecond Corinthian.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 380.

On the Proportions of the Parthenon.

ACCORDING to M. Le Roi [a], the length of this temple was 214 feet, 10 inches, and 4 lines *; and its height 65 feet (French) †. Let us convert theſe meaſures into Grecian feet, and we ſhall have about 227 feet for its length, and for its height about 68 fee 7 inches. As to its breadth, that ſeems to be indicated by the

[x] D'Orville. Sicula. cap. 5 p. 97.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 5. cap. 10 p. 400.
[z] Id. lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 693.
[a] Le Roi. Ruines de la Grèce, part. 1. p. 30. part. 2. pl. xx.
* 229 feet 2 inches Engliſh.
† 69 feet 4 inches Engliſh.

name hécatonpédon (100 feet), which the ancients beſtowed upon this temple. And M. Le Roi found, in fact, that the frize of the front was 94 feet 10 inches *, which correſponds with 100 Grecian feet [b].

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 382.

On the Quantity of Gold employed in the Statue of Minerva.

THUCYDIDES ſays [c] 40 talents; other authors [d] ſay 44; others again 50 [e]. I follow the teſtimony of Thucydides. Suppoſing that, in his time, the proportion of gold was 1 to 13, as it was in the time of Herodotus, the 40 talents of gold would give 520 talents of ſilver, which, at 5400 livres the talent, would produce a total of 2,808,000 livres. But, as in the age of Pericles, the drachma was worth at leaſt 19 ſols (9½d.), and the talent of ſilver 5700 livres (237l. 10s.), (ſee the note which accompanies the table of the value of the Greek money, in vol. iv. of this work), the 40 talents in queſtion were worth at leaſt 2,964,000 livres (or 123,500l. Sterling).

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 382.

On the Manner in which the Gold was diſtributed on the Statue of Minerva.

THE goddeſs was habited in a long tunic, which muſt have been of ivory. The ægis or ſkin of the goat Amalthea covered her breaſt, and probably her left arm, as we ſee on ſome of her ſtatues. The borders of the ægis were ſurrounded by ſerpents; and in the field of the buckler, covered with the ſcales of ſerpents, appeared the head of Meduſa. Thus is the ægis repreſented on

* 101 feet 1 inch Engliſh.
[b] Le Roi, ibid. p. 29
[c] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[d] Philochor. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 604.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.

monuments, and in ancient authors [f]. But Iſocrates, who was ſtill living at the period in which I ſuppoſe the younger Anacharſis to have travelled in Greece, obſerves [g], that the gorgonium had been ſtolen; and Suidas [h], ſpeaking of the ſame fact, adds, that it was forced off from the ſtatue of Minerva. From a paſſage of Plutarch [i] it appears, that, by this expreſſion, we muſt underſtand the ægis.

Let us now ſee of what the ægis taken from the ſtatue was compoſed. Not to mention that no perſon would have ſtole it, had it not been of precious materials, Philochorus informs us [k], that the robbery complained of reſpected the ſcales and the ſerpents. The queſtion here has no connection with a ſerpent which the artiſt had placed at the feet of the goddeſs. That was only an acceſſory, an attribute that required no magnificence; and Philochorus ſpeaks of ſerpents in the plural.

From theſe circumſtances, I conclude, that Phidias had made the ſcales which covered the ægis, and the ſerpents ſuſpended around it, of gold. This is confirmed by Pauſanias [l], who ſays, that Minerva had on her breaſt a head of Meduſa in ivory: an unneceſſary remark, if the ægis was of the ſame ſubſtance, and the head not relieved by the ground of gold to which it was affixed. The wings of the Victory which Minerva held in her hand were likewiſe of gold. Some robbers, who had got into the temple, found means to detach them; and betrayed themſelves by quarrelling about the diviſion of their booty [m].

From different teſtimonies, which I omit to adduce, it may be preſumed that the baſſo-relievos of the helmet, the buckler, the buſkins, and perhaps of the pedeſtal, were of the ſame metal. The greater part of theſe ornaments were ſtill in exiſtence at the period I have choſen. They were carried off ſome time after, by a perſon named Lachares [n].

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f Virgil. Æneid. lib. 8. v. 436.
g Iſocr. adv. Callim. t. ii. p. 511.
h Suid. in Φιλαΐας.
i Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 117.
k Philochor. ap. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 604.
l Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 58.
m Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 792. Ulpian. ibid. p. 821.
n Pauſan. ibid. cap. 25. p. 61.

CHAP. XIV.—Page 394.

On the Presidents of the Senate of Athens.

Every thing relative to the officers of the senate, and their functions, is attended with so many difficulties, that I shall content myself with referring my readers to the learned authors who have discussed the subject, as Sigonius (de Repub. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 4.); Petav. (de Cycl. differt. 3. § 43.); Sam. Pet. (Leg. Attic. p. 188.); and Corsin. (Fast. Attic. t. i. differt. 6).

SAME CHAP.—Page 398.

On the Decrees of the Senate and of the People of Athens.

Nothing was executed but by virtue of the laws and of decrees[o]; the difference of which consisted in this, that the laws were obligatory on all the citizens, and perpetually binding; whereas the decrees, properly so called, respected only individuals, and were but of temporary operation. It was by a decree that ambassadors were dispatched, crowns bestowed on citizens, &c. When the decree was of such a nature as to comprehend all times and persons, it then became a law.

CHAP. XVII.—Page 423.

On a singular Decision of the Areopagus.

To the fact I have given in the text, another may be added, which occurred long after, and in an age, when, though Athens had lost all her glory, that of the Areopagus still shone in its meridian splendour. A woman of Sicyon, exasperated at the barbarity of a second husband, and of a son she had by him, who slew a

[o] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 787.

promiſing youth ſhe had born by her former ſpouſe, determined to poiſon them both. After a proſecution before ſeveral tribunals that neither ventured to condemn nor to acquit her, the matter was brought before the Areopagus, which, after a long examination, ordered the parties to appear again before the court in one hundred years from that time [p].

CHAP. XX.—Page 439.

On the Game of Dice.

M. De Peiresc had in his poſſeſſion an antique calendar, ornamented with drawings. At the month of January, a man was repreſented holding a dice box in his hand, and throwing the dice into a ſort of a tower, placed on the edge of a chequer-board [q].

SAME CHAP.—Page. 450.

Prices of various Articles of Merchandiſe.

In the text, I have given the price of ſome articles of proviſions, ſuch as it was at Athens in the time of Demoſthenes. About 60 years before, in the time of Ariſtophanes, a workman's pay was 3 oboli (9 ſols, or fourpence halfpenny [r]); a race-horſe was worth 12 minæ, or 1200 drachmas (1080 livres, or 45 l.) [s]; a mantle, 20 drachmas (18 livres, or 15 ſhillings); dreſs for the feet and legs, 8 drachmas (7 livres 4 ſols, or 6 ſhillings) [t].

[p] Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 1. Aulus Gellius, lib. 12. cap. 7; et alii.
[q] Valeſ. in Harpocr. p. 79.
[r] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 310.
[s] Id. in Nub. v. 1227.
[t] Id. in Plut. v. 983.

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 451.

On the property bequeathed to Demoſthenes by his father.

THE father of Demoſthenes was eſteemed a rich man [u]; yet he left his ſon only about 14 talents, nearly 75,600 livres (or 3150 l. ſterling [x]). His inheritance chiefly conſiſted in the following articles: 1ſt, A ſword manufactory, in which thirty ſlaves were kept at work [y]. Two or three of the principal ones were each of them worth 500 or 600 drachmas, about 500 livres (or near 20 guineas); the others at leaſt 300 drachmas, 270 livres (11 l. 5 s.): their labour was annually worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112 l. 10 s.), all expences deducted. 2dly, A manufactory of beds, which employed twenty ſlaves, worth 40 minæ, or 3600 livres (150 l.): they produced annually 12 minæ, or 1080 livres (45 l. ſterling). 3dly, A ſtock of ivory, iron, and wood [z], worth 80 minæ, or 7200 livres (300 l. ſterling). The ivory was made uſe of for the bed feet [a], or the handles and ſheaths of ſwords [b]. 4thly, Gall-nuts and copper, worth 70 minæ, or 6300 livres (262 l. 10s.). 5thly, A houſe, worth 30 minæ, or 2700 livres (112l. 10s.) 6thly, Furniture, vaſes, cups, gold trinkets, robes, and the toilet of his mother; 100 minæ, or 9000 livres (375 l.). 7thly, Money lent out, or employed in trade [c].

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[u] Demoſth. in Aphob. p. 896, 901, 904.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 895.
[y] Id ibid. p. 896.
[z] Id. ibid.
[a] Plat. ap. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 48.
[b] Demoſthen. in Aphob. p. 898. Laert. lib. 6. § 65.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 896.

END OF VOL. I.

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